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SOUTH CARPATHIAN STUDIES

ROUMANIA

II

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346

[Curtea de Arges, the Cathedral (1510)]

[cover page]

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THE LE PLAY SOCIETY

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The Council of the Le Play Society wish to place on record their appreciation of the courtesy extended to them in connection with the visit to Roumania (August 1936) by the Roumanian Chargé d'Affaires in London as representing the Roumanian Government. They include in this acknowledgment Monsieur D. Dem Dimancesco, Press Attaché, Monsieur Jean Drago, Monsieur D. O. Mateesçu, Dr. Emil Pop, Madame Dunareana, the Mayor and Mayoress of Curtea d'Argeş, and other Roumanian friends. Their thanks are also due to the Roumanian Government for making it possible to include the physical maps of Roumania. To the Vice-Consul, Dr. J. C. Popovici, who again acted as guide and friend throughout the entire expedition, the group owed much.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER PAGE

Foreword by Prof. P. M. Roxby, B.A. (Oxon.) 5

I The European Setting 7

II The Arges District 18

III Curtea de Arges 23

IV Houses in Curtea de Arges . . 27

V Education in Curtea de Arges . . 33

VI Medical Conditions at Curtea de Arges 36

VII Farming Around Curtea de Arges . 39

VIII Transhumance in the Southern Carpathians 48

IX The Fair 54

Bibliography 60

FOREWORD

000 THE NINETEENTH CENTURY saw the rise of systematic sociology, the natural response of thinkers to the increasing complexity of social relationships, which itself was in large measure due to the coming of industrialism and the revolution in the means of communication. But this sociology as developed by pure economists tended to be intensely abstract. It was the supreme contribution of Le Play to impress on the minds of many of his contemporaries, particularly through his notable book "*Les Ouvriers Européens*", that the problems and needs of human communities could only be fully appreciated through their respective *genres de vie* as conditioned by all the circumstances of their geographical environments. Pushed to an extreme this concept may easily try to explain too much and lead to an arid form of determinism. It is when the adjustment of man or rather of men in communities to nature is studied with full awareness of all the varied influences which affect the human response to the stimulus of a particular environment that the concept is really fruitful and illuminating. It is from this standpoint that the Le Play Society, which commemorates the name and continues the work of the great pioneer, has for many years organized a series of regional studies and published a summary of their results.

MANY of these studies have been concerned with the critical zone of contact between Western Industrial and Eastern Agrarian Europe which extends from Poland through the Czecho-Slovak Republic to Roumania and the Balkans. Recent events have drawn the pained attention of the West to the importance of the countries of this zone, but even now

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the majority limits its enquiries to the policies of their rulers and the significance of their resources in terms of power politics. In the long run it is the mode of life and outlook of their peoples which will count for most and herein lies the value of the Le Play "Studies" as portraying the present phase of adjustment to environment.

THE appearance of this survey is particularly opportune. Roumania is rapidly acquiring a new significance in the chequer-board of Europe, and with its complex geographical relationships, its mixed inheritance, its strikingly contrasted but interdependent natural regions and its predominantly peasant population, needs precisely this method of investigation for its interpretation to western students. The present volume supplements an earlier study of life in the Eastern Carpathians by an analysis of a typical Wallachian district and of the important transhumant movement which has long linked the economy of Mountain and Plain. This detailed survey is preceded by an admirable exposition of the wider European setting of Roumanian life.

P. M. ROXBY

19*th December*, 1938.

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THE EUROPEAN SETTING

THE MOUNTAIN RANGES OF EUROPE from the Pyrenees to the Carpathians and Balkans divide Europe into two strongly contrasted regions which may be called Mediterranean Europe and The European Plain. In Mediterranean Europe, with its many framing mountains, the sea retains the warmth of summer far longer than do the surrounding mountains down which cold air slides to interfere with and lift the warm air over the sea. Thus cyclones form and process eastwards, giving rain that begins fairly gently in autumn in some parts towards the east, though it is the season of specially great rainfall in others, especially towards the north-west. In December and January the cyclones are well developed. By March they are often weakening, and in the east the rains become gentle once more before they pass away. So in the east, in Palestine for example, we have the "former" and the "latter" rains of autumn and early spring on the flanks of the great rainy season, the "former" rains helping to soften the hard-baked earth for the plough, the "latter" rains helping the seeds to germinate ere the rain is over and gone. In late spring the increasing warmth farther south strengthens northerly components in wind directions over the Mediterranean and only a little rain falls, as the air is moving from cooler to warmer regions. There are a few exceptions to these general rules, such as the east coast of the Adriatic, with its steep hills fronting the sea to the south-west and getting a good deal more and more prolonged rain than the rest. Other parts in the north-west near high mountains also remain cold for a time, and air slipping down over melting snow in spring may have a good deal of moisture and may contribute to cyclones there. But, broadly, the Mediterranean is a region of rain in the winter half of the year and of drought in the warm summer half. This favours the cultivation of plants with deep roots able to penetrate down to damp layers even in summer, and the cultivation of fruit trees, notably vine and olive, has long been a feature of Mediterranean life, while honey from the heaths has been a supplement, and small field patches, not seldom on built-up terraces of the hillsides, have given hard wheat and a barley with strong straw.

There is here little scope for huge open fields to be ploughed by great teams of oxen, and there would be little opportunity to pasture great herds in summer when the grass is often parched and brown. So a small plough (aratrum) and a small field are a feature, and fruits rival cereals in importance, while farm animals count for relatively little, save that goats can be sent up to the heights, where, if they give milk for cheese, they also destroy the forests.

THE MEDITERRANEAN, especially in the Ægean region, is studded with islands inviting settlement by vine and olive growers, who found there safe bays for fishing havens and opportunities to voyage from point to point without often losing sight of land for any length of time. The voyagers traded from island to island in such commodities as the sharp-edged obsidian of Melos, the hard emery of Naxos, the olive oil of Crete. The abundance of limestone led the rain-water down its cracks to gush out at springs near which men clustered, especially on defensible hills near the sea, and they were the better able to do this because Mediterranean farming with few cattle or horses absolved them from living in the closest contact with their work. When we add to these considerations the importance of fishing, navigation, trade and defence, we understand in what measure the large cluster, i.e. town or city, has come to be a feature of Mediterranean life. From the town the farmers might go out to their fields and, with the growth of wealth in a slave-using scheme of life, the free citizens might well gather in culture centres. The city has been a feature of Mediterranean Europe for nearly, if not quite, five thousand years.

MATTERS HAVE worked out very differently in Europe north of the Alps. The plains or lowlands of the west are visited by Atlantic cyclones at most periods of the year, but these are apt to be strongest and rainiest in autumn. Towards the interior of the continent these late cyclones spend their energy in vain against the dense air masses lying over the surface that, away from the sea, becomes bitterly cold in winter. While, therefore, in the west, autumn and winter are specially rainy seasons, in the interior of the continent this component of the precipitation is small, and chiefly in the form of snow, though there is some rain, especially in autumn. When the land begins to warm up again in spring, air is apt to slip down the still snow-clad mountain-sides, and this, as usual, gives rise

300 to some disturbances that cause a certain amount of rain at this change of seasons. As heating increases still further the air in contact with lowlands, and especially lowland hollows among the hills, is apt to become very warm and to rise rapidly, giving thunderstorms and rain, which are most marked in the south-eastern interior in June and farther north may reach a maximum in July or later. There is thus rain at the change of seasons and a summer maximum of rainfall, and the pastures maintain themselves better than those around the Mediterranean. The trees are often deciduous; that is, they shed their leaves ere the winter cold begins, so the bare boughs give a brown hue to the wintry landscape and the contrast between this area of winter brown (and white) and summer green, and the Mediterranean, with its winter green and summer brown, is complete.

THE OLIVE cannot stand the cold, but the need for it is less in a region of summer green, where there is thus pasture for cattle and thence also a supply of fat. Mixed farming is the general rule, with cattle and horses to pull heavy ploughs (caruca) over the great level stretches, too large, of old, to be held save in common by peasants, often under a lord. The vine has been acclimatised in sunny spots, but is by no means general, and in the last few centuries the races of vine have been specially bred to give wines of quality in Champagne, Burgundy, the Rhinelands and a few spots in Switzerland, Hungary and Bulgaria. The vine is, however, here a luxury plant, and in farming the care of stock rivals in importance the cultivation of the soil. This means that the farmers must live near their animals in villages or hamlets, or even—especially in modern times, when ancient and local means of defence are no longer of value—in single farms dispersed over the land. In the early days the small groups, as it were lost in the plains, had little opportunity to trade or travel, so the community was in the main self-sufficing, and there was, for a long time, never a town in the whole region. Indeed, in east-central Europe, though cultivation may be five thousand years old, few if any towns have reached their thousandth anniversary, and it is especially obvious in this region that the very idea of a town is imported from the west, whither it was carried from the Mediterranean by the Roman power. In south-west Russia, let us note incidentally, the city may preserve a small heritage from Greek colonial cities, the communities of which were feeling their way up the Don and Dnieper and were followed centuries afterwards by Norse traders adventuring down these rivers to get into touch with the trade of the East, particularly after the spread of Islam and its quarrel with Christianity had for a while closed the westward trade routes through the Mediterranean. The trading cities or ports of south-west Russia did not, however, spread the idea of the town and city into central Europe, which thus remained a land of villages and hamlets until the Middle Ages. The contrast in social development between Mediterranean Europe and Europe north of the Alps is as striking as that in climate and vegetation.

Immense stretches of forest of old clothed the heavier claylands, and bush obstructed even some of the lighter soils, though these were easier to clear, and were earlier settled. Apparently the primitive cultivators took crops until the soil was exhausted and then they moved on. They were but a pioneering fringe of the greater agricultural civilizations of south-west Asia. At first they may not even have had domestic animals, but later on, probably in the Bronze Age, that is, when horses had been introduced and metal was in use and spread by exchanges of some sort, the dunging of the fields, a rotation of crops and team-ploughing with a big instrument began. Cultivation was still, however, a thing apart from metals and trade, and the "tinkers" and other wanderers, like the gipsies of later times, were outside the farming groups and difficult to assimilate, often keeping up a language of their own and living outside the village's customary law. When tools had improved and iron was in use, many clearings were made in the forests—and the period after the Fall of the Roman Empire is thence called *die Rodungszeit*,—but even this did little to bring larger clusters of people together, and all we find from early days on the plains is a *Burgwall* or earth-ramparted refuge here and there, to be used no doubt in time of danger from enemies. The forest was the abode of wild beasts, and the folklore thence derived gives us Little Red Riding Hood, and many stories collected by the Grimms bring out the further point that evilly-disposed people also lurked among the trees; travel was a dangerous adventure, the villagers knew little of the world until Christianity came; their intellectual condition offers us a further contrast over against that of the citizens of Mediterranean lands. Their narrow horizon, their self-contained communities governed by customary law, their houses not seldom sheltering both men and animals, their rituals connected with fruitfulness of land and stock and families, contrasted with the broader experience, the trading communities with coins for exchange tokens and codes of law, the elaborate houses and cults, not to mention philosophical speculations, of the people of the Mediterranean, using sea as well as land for travel, exchange and administration.

AMONG THE MOUNTAINS between the two main zones opportunities for cultivation might be to some extent restricted in the valleys, but higher up there were in many places ledges, called alps, in the mountains to which they have given their name, or even, as in the Carpathians, large extents of land that grew rich grass as soon as the water from melting snow sank into the soil. The animals could be taken up to the highlands for the summer and the riverside meadows could be left for hay to be cut and stored for winter food when the cattle came down hill again. Some members of the village groups were, and are, sent up to the high pastures with the cattle or, more often still, the sheep, to make cheeses from the milk, and in parts of the Alps even women and children may accompany these seasonal migrants, as in the Val d'Anniviers; but in the Carpathians it is usually mainly men and boys who migrate in this way, though they may receive visits from their women if they are not too far from home. This transhumance is a feature added to the routine of farming in the mountain zone between the Mediterranean and the North, but it has penetrated into the north and west where opportunities have offered themselves, and it naturally has its important analogues in Mediterranean mountain lands.

IN THE WEST of Europe where, in Gaul and on the Rhine for example, towns are at least two thousand years old in some cases, trade has knit town and country together sufficiently to induce the villagers to bring produce to market and to buy there and at festival fairs many of the things they need, especially as in the west the climate permits farm work all the year round and gives a variety of activities and products, so that there is not the time to spare to make textiles and pots at home. The peasantry of France thus has knit itself to the market towns and the bourgeois is often a peasant slightly altered—"Grattez le bourgeois et vous trouvez le paysan."

300 SOMEWHAT FARTHER EAST, where German has long been spoken, town and country are still fairly closely linked in a thousand years of experience, although the town may have been founded with special legal privileges and government distinguishing it from the feudal lordships over the countryside. The community of language, however, kept town and village in touch to a considerable extent, although less so than in France, because here, with, of old, poorer cultivation and harder winters, the villagers both lacked the wherewithal to buy much in the town and retained leisure during the snowy winter to make a good deal at home. Peasant crafts are more varied and of greater importance.

IN EAST-CENTRAL EUROPE the idea of the town was introduced mainly across German-speaking areas and mainly just after Christianity spread. So the town was often a German foundation in a Slavonic land, and to it there flocked also Jewish elements, especially as Christian guild organisations made conditions difficult for them further west in the German cities. City and country might therefore be kept apart by difference of language as well as tradition. Moreover, in many cases, the men who developed the city, as they came from the west, often cherished the Roman tradition in religion, while the countryside had in many cases just been Christianised from Constantinople; that is, by the Orthodox Church. Contrasts in religion that go deep down into social life are thus a difficulty as between town and country, a difficulty that has in places been increased because some of the erstwhile Roman Catholic communities became partly Lutheran or even Unitarian in the sixteenth and following centuries. The country folk here are for the most part poorer in exchange-tokens, if not always in real wealth, than those farther west; they accordingly buy less and make more, and the self-contained community is still discernible in spite of the inroads of modern discovery and trade. Those modern movements have brought potatoes, root crops and maize to be added to the farmer's produce, and modern communications and industry have forced upon him the idea of cash crops and large production; but the old life is still there, the village crofts, little market towns, and the schemes of transhumance still survive and will be the object of the studies which follow.

THE LANGUAGES of prehistoric Europe have been the subject of much speculation, and hypothetical inferences have been made as to the introduction of Aryan speech into east-central Europe with or soon after the beginnings of cultivation five thousand years ago. We shall not enter into that stricken field. The evidence seems all too poor. Suffice it to say that at some time in the earlier part of the last millennium B.C. Celtic of some kind appears to have been in use in south Germany and to have spread thence with elements of the "Urnfields Culture" of the Late Bronze Age reaching distant Catalonia about 600 B.C., according to the best dating available, and Gaul and Britain at a date on which no agreement has yet been reached. That there were Germanic-speaking peoples to the north of those who spoke Celtic at that time seems very probable, and there certainly were the Italic and Greek groups to the south. We have no evidence as to whether the Slavonic forms had as yet taken shape as such in east-central Europe, but if Germanic, Celtic, Italic and Greek were all more or less differentiated, it is highly probable that Slavonic of some kind was already in use among the populations on the areas of light-soil (loess) in east central Europe. There is little doubt that these various families of language differentiated themselves from a common mother-tongue which came into Europe from the Russo-Asiatic steppe, and in all probability came west before the last millennium B.C. Before the days of written contracts and rituals, while as yet men's outlooks were very limited, it was easy enough to change a language by introduction of new words and phrases; language had not yet acquired that halo of sanctified associations which makes it such an immovable feature in our time. It is highly probable that elements of Aryan language were acquired by peoples who spoke older languages and that many of the features of the different families of Aryan speech are survivals from older tongues. People in central Europe with long upper lips can pronounce *b* and *p* more easily than those with short upper lips in the north, who tend rather to say *v* and *f*, or even *k* instead.

OF ONE language-spread in pre-Roman Europe we have many traces, and this is the extension of Celtic speech already mentioned from south Germany to Gaul and Britain; according to some, with a culture characterised by bronze swords; according to others, with an iron-using culture later on. It also spread to Catalonia and to north Italy (Gallia cisalpina), as well as through south-east Europe, including Roumania, which owes some prehistoric earthwork fortresses to Celtic conquerors.

We know from Britain that Latin and Celtic were near enough to one another for Latin to influence Celtic without much difficulty or delay, and when the Roman power took charge of Dacia east of the Danube the Latin element in speech spread among the people.

After the fall of the Roman Empire followed a period when the quarrel between Islam and Christianity cut the old trade routes, and barbarian efforts to establish order were too inexperienced to succeed. Therefore the towns were impoverished, the advance of the idea of the town beyond the Rhine was retarded for centuries, and, instead, there was a great forest-clearing movement, founding villages and spreading a scheme of agriculture with rotations of two or three years, dividing the village lands into two or three fields for the purpose. Whatever the date and place of their birth, the Slavonic languages spread enormously in east-central Europe at this time, but neither their nor subsequent pressure was ever able to destroy the Latin heritage in Roumanian language, though Slavonic words were introduced in large numbers and some items of Slavonic syntax also modified the older language.

The course of what may be called language-waves seems to have been different in different phases of civilization. When words were chiefly names of things in use and of matters of personal contact it may be that changes of language could be more complete than after writing and liturgies and the like had come into existence. Also, whereas early peoples seem to have been concerned with essentially local ideas of, for example, so-called supernatural powers, under Roman and Christian influence they faced wider generalizations that indicate on the whole a step forward in mentality. We can trace the taking of the step forward in the west by noting how local deities and their legends came to be attached to saints recognised by the Church; some, like the Blessed Virgin Mary, transcending all local attachments. Language thus became a vehicle for larger ideas with clearer abstractions and, especially, more definite legal phraseology; and all this added to the difficulty of change of speech. In Gaul, Celtic languages had given place to a Latin type; in Britain, 000 Celtic forms, Latin and Anglo-Saxon followed one another, but Norman French was unable to oust Anglo-Saxon, though it left a deposit of legal phrases and helped to make English grow towards the remarkable amalgam of Teutonic and Romance elements that it now is, though much of this growth came during the Renaissance. Roumania is in a sense an analogous amalgam of Latinised and Slavonic elements. The survival of the older, Latin, element is an interesting fact.

175 The Roumanian people, as we may begin to call them, were spread over the Carpathian bastion, using the high pastures in summer, so that contacts were maintained over long distances, independently of adjacent peoples more specially con- [17 cerned with farming in lowland villages. It is a Roumanian theory, with much probability behind it, that the summer life on the upland pastures has had not a little to do with the survival of the Latin element to such a degree in Roumania, [186] and with the survival of the Roumanian people's consciousness of themselves as distinct from their neighbours. It is noteworthy that groups of Germans, Szeklers, and so on, spreading in the Carpathian bastion later on, when Christianity had come to this part of the world, have not changed their language, nor have they caused their neighbours to change theirs. The resistance to language-change has become too great.

In the days when Latin and Slavonic were, as it were, competing in and around the Carpathian bastion, Christianity was expanding from Rome and Constantinople, with characteristic differences, only some of which concern us here. In the west, Roman cities had grown, often from camps, ere the empire fell, and cities tended to acquire bishops, for whom the Roman tradition was their main link with the larger world. The insistence on the general language (Latin) for religious purposes and the growth in authority and prestige of the Bishop of Rome are thus easy to understand. And the combination gave the bishop's city a prestige that helped to Christianise barbarian conquerors and to spread the idea of the city when a revival began in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In the east there was less spread of the idea of the city northward from Constantinople and the Ægean, save in the case of the cities on a Greek basis in south Russia. Nor was there the same spread of a general language. We accordingly find that the Church consecrated Slavonic forms, 000 and the Cyrillic script invented for Slavonic purposes came to be used for religion, even in Roumania. Cities and towns were as yet hardly born in central and east-central Europe.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries, as the Dark Ages were passing away in the west, the idea of the city spread eastwards from the Rhine, sometimes under the leadership of the Church, sometimes around a military leader, sometimes through the planting of colonists by a leader. The Magyar kings accepted Christianity and were drawn into this current of activity, and Transylvania was a frontier land that needed to be developed and guarded. A people of transhumant shepherds and lowly cultivators scattered over a mountain territory was as yet too weak to do this or to resist effectively, while it had no reason to attach itself to the Magyar power, which had different linguistic and religious associations. The Magyars established allied Szekler peoples within the arc of the eastern Carpathians, apparently to some extent as a guard for the passes. They also brought in Saxon immigrants to establish cities as well as villages, and the Teutonic knights and Magyar aristocrats also came to add to the complexity. Szekler and Saxon were Roman Catholic, so a religious complication was added to the linguistic one, and this complexity was further increased when the Saxon element became Protestant on a Lutheran basis, while Unitarianism developed among the Magyars, and the Uniate scheme spread in the border zone between Catholic and Orthodox.

133 Beyond the old Dacia, that is outside the Carpathian bastion, the plains of Wallachia and Moldavia long were highways of barbarian warriors, while their lands nearer the hills are floored by large quantities of boulder-strewn outwash from old sub-glacial conditions in the mountains, so that the areas of more cultivable alluvium are, in the hill country, largely
369 riverside zones. The development of a measure of urban life
361 apparently came later here than in Transylvania, and it may owe something to the Saxon ideas expressed in Transylvania, though neither Saxons or Szeklers are present, and the characteristic Saxon house type with its great arched doorway is completely absent, as is the walled town. The Transylvanian Saxon village (note the villages called Cristian near Sibiu and near Braşov) might have a fortified enclosure around its church, a centre of refuge and of authority. How far analogous developments outside the Carpathian arc are due

The Transylvanian Alps with Negoia.

Olt Valley. View of the valley taken from the bridge at Calimanesti.

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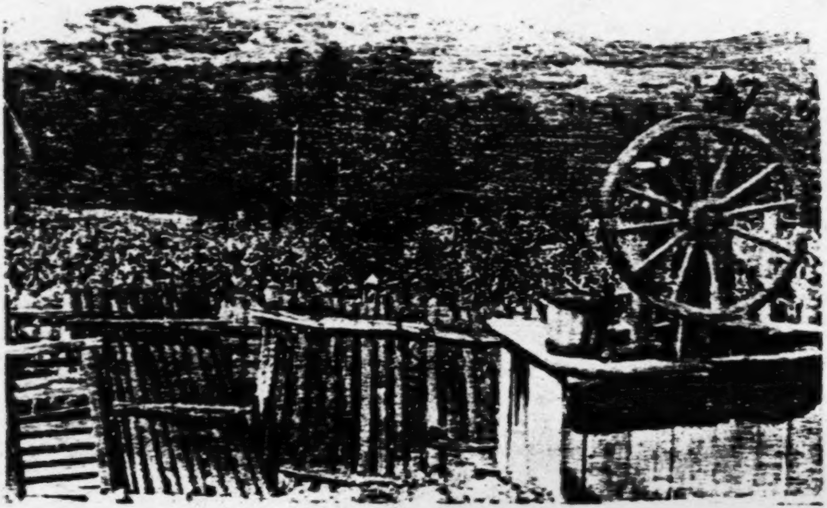
133



Curtea de Argeş. River terrace in foreground. Pliocene deposits on horizon.

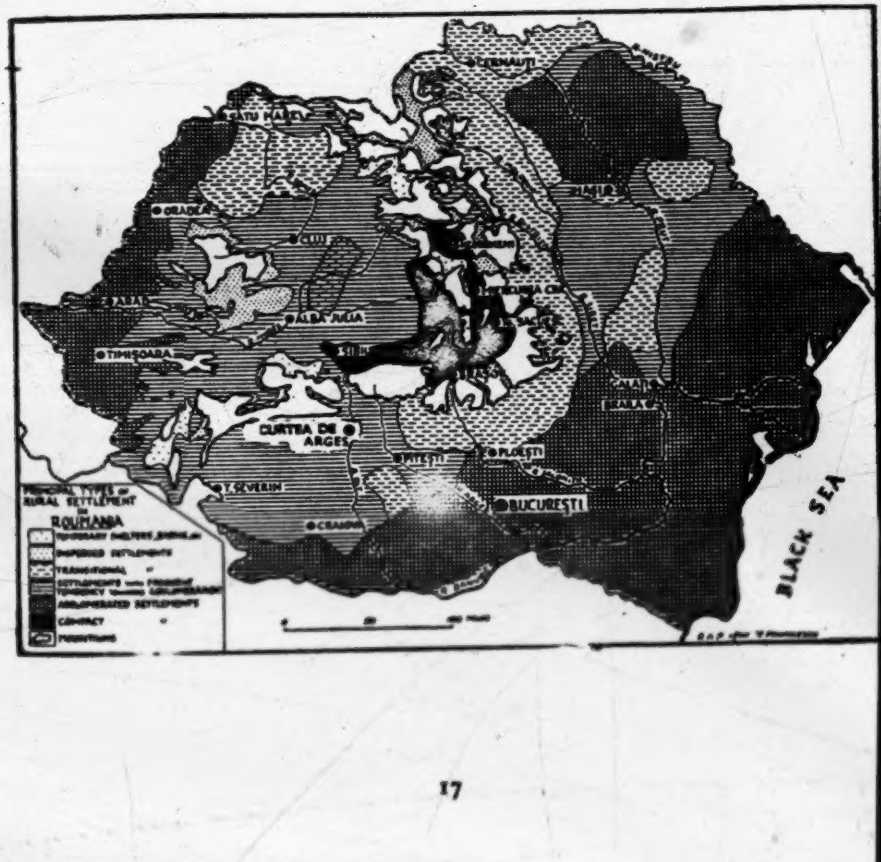
346

Biserica Domneasca, Curtea de Argeş (1345), within a fortified enclosure.

[Page 16 b]

to imitation of the Saxon, and how far they are independent developments of a natural and comparatively simple idea, it would be difficult to decide. It is at any rate interesting that the old town of Curtea de Argeş shows clearly as its nucleus a fortified enclosure around its splendid old church of the fourteenth century, the Biserica Domneasca.

H. J. F.

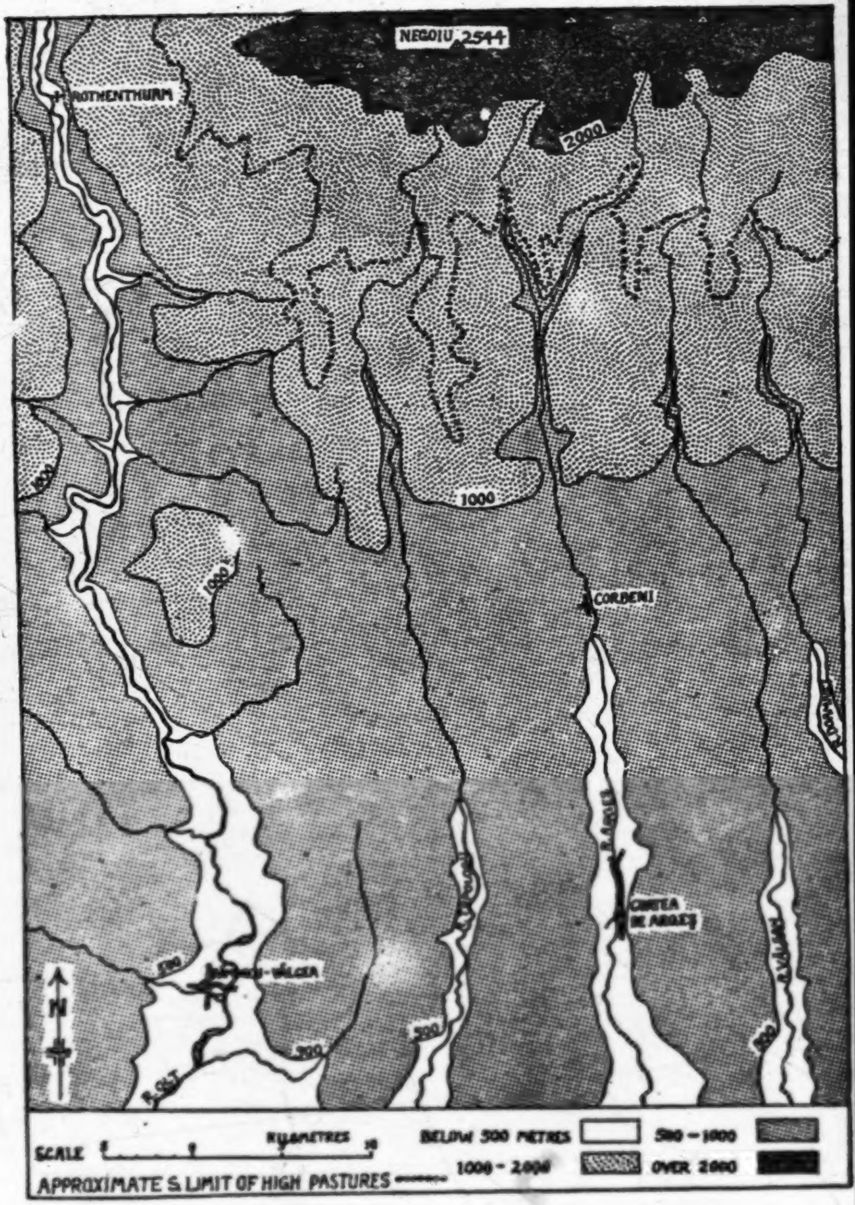

CERNAUTI
SATU MARE
IASI
ORADEA
CLUJ
ARAD
ALBA JULIA
TIMISOARA
SIBIU
BRASOV
GALATI
BRAILA
CURTEA DE ARGES
PITESTI
PLOESTI
T. SEVERIN
BUCUREŞTI
CRAIOVA
BLACK SEA
PRINCIPAL TYPES OF RURAL SETTLEMENT IN ROUMANIA
TRANSITIONAL
AGGLOMERATED SETTLEMENTS
COMPACT

THE ARGEŞ DISTRICT

101 133 The extended Roumania that was organised after 1918 includes the old areas of Wallachia, Dobrogea, Moldavia, Bessarabia, Bukovina, Transylvania and Timişoara, of varied allegiance before the World War, but all containing from early historic times onwards a proportion of Roumanian-speaking people. Transylvania is the mountain bastion with the eastern Carpathians as its eastern boundary, the southern Carpathians or Transylvanian Alps as its southern edge, and the western Roumanian Carpathians or Bihor, etc., mountains on its western flank. Its mountainous frame and its hilly interior give it a very decidedly upland character, even if the Olt, the Maroş and the Szamoş, which drain it, have considerable systems of tributary valleys. Outside the bastion to the east Bukovina and Moldavia slope down to the great plain of eastern Europe, of which Bessarabia forms the flank west of the Dniestr. Behind the bastion to the west Timişoara stretches down to the Tisza, and forms the south-eastern flank of the middle Danubian plain. Outside the bastion on the south is Wallachia, sloping down towards the lower Danube, while beyond the considerable barrier formed by the lowest portion of the Danube and to the south-east, is the low plateau area of the Dobrogea.

[113] In a previous study we gave in some measure a picture of rural life in the eastern Carpathians near the border between Transylvania and Moldavia, where the mountains barely reach 1,900 m. (say 6,200 feet), and the highest land is often in great expanses of pasture with deep valleys cut by the rival drainage systems of the two sides, which are separated by a number of passes that may indent the watershed. In the eastern Carpathians Roumanians and Szeklers, respectively Uniate and Roman Catholic, live in adjacent villages, and the former, especially, send flocks and herds to the highland pastures.

121 This study is intended to deal more especially with what is thought to be a typical area of rural Wallachia, having an almost entirely Roumanian population attached to the Orthodox Church and living under circumstances differing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BELOW 500 METRES
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APPROXIMATE S. LIMIT OF HIGH PASTURES

The Olt Valley and the Upper Argeş.

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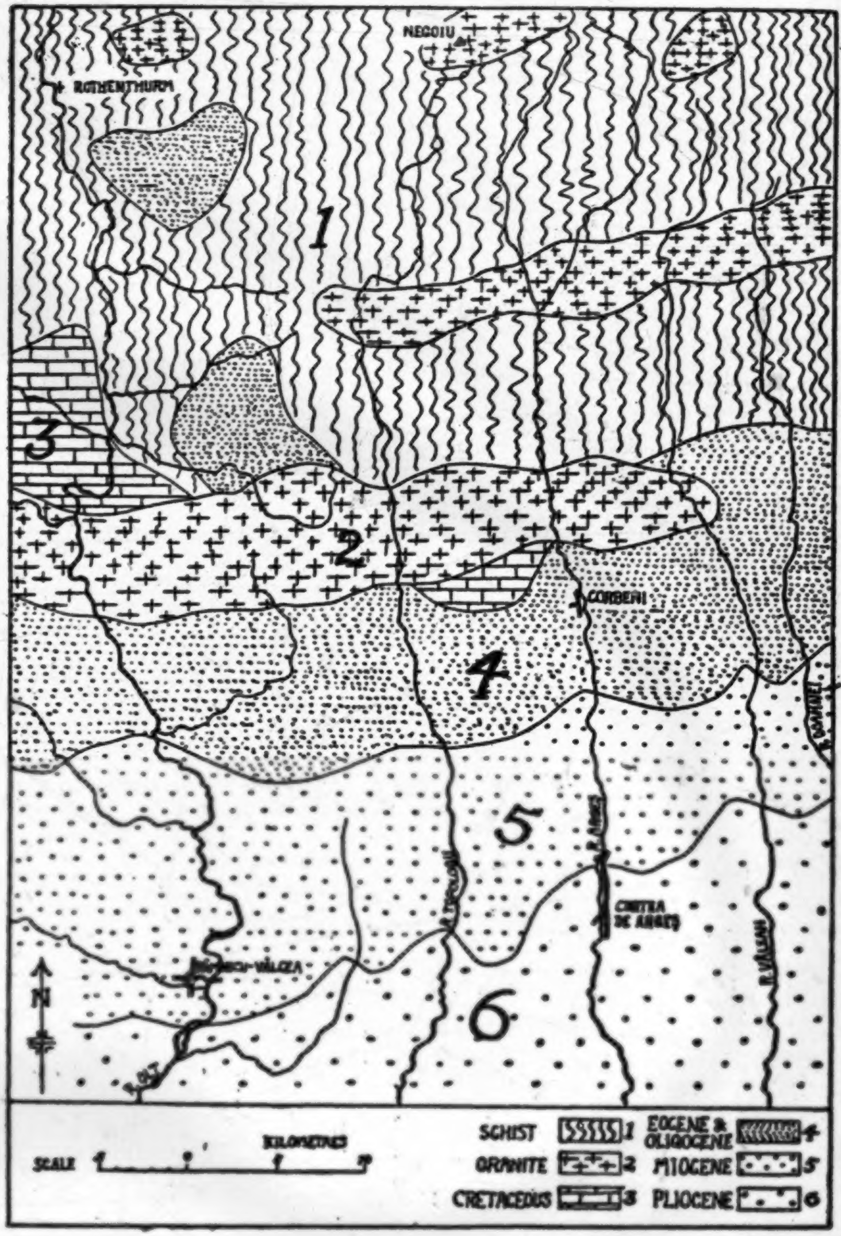
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R. ARGEŞ
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R. VÂLSAN
RÂMNICU-VÂLCEA
6
N
R. OLT
SCALE
KILOMETRES
SCHIST 1
GRANITE 2
CRETACEOUS 3
EOCENE & OLIGOCENE 4
MIOCENE 5
PLIOCENE 6

Geology of the Area shown in Physical Map.

121 considerably from those of the eastern Carpathians; this area is the district focusing upon Curtea de Argeş.

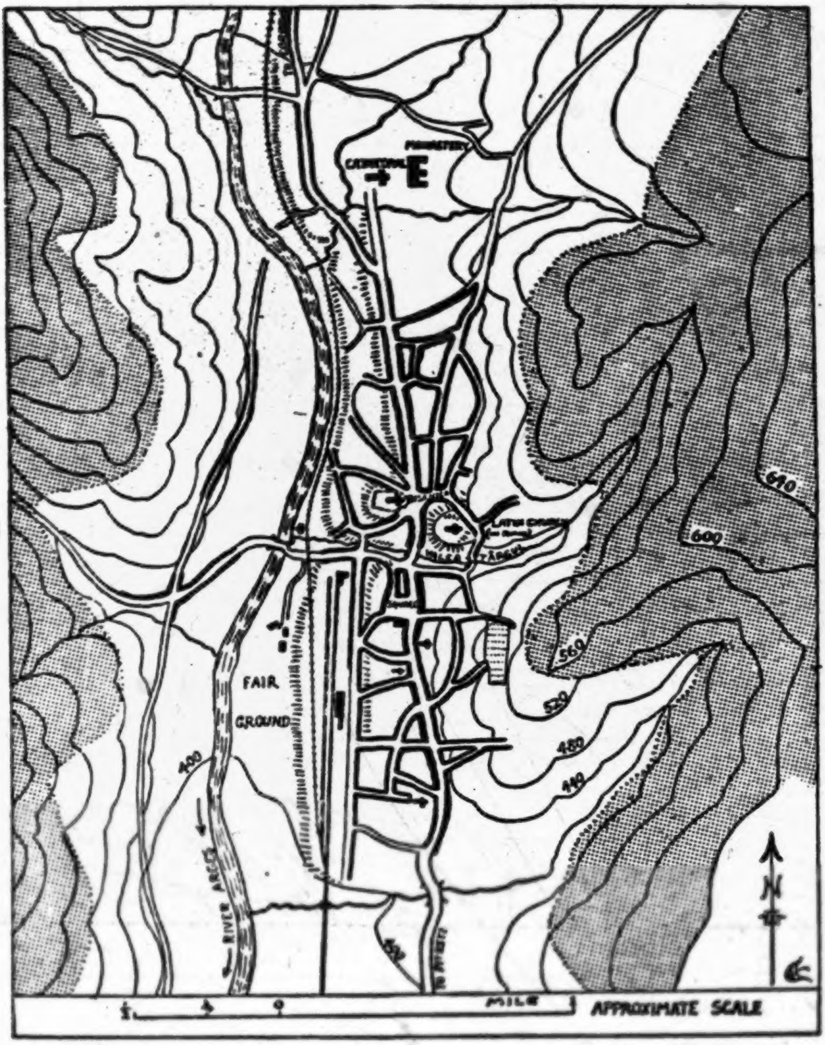
101 133 Wallachia has already been described as the land stretching from the southern Carpathians or Transylvanian Alps to the Danube. The mountains themselves are largely of metamorphosed rock with flanking Miocene deposits; they are about 40 km. wide with the sharp main ridge (rising at Negoiu to 2,544 m. or 8,331 feet) parallel to the long flanks about 11 km. from the northern and 29 km. from the southern edge. Several rivers have worked their valleys out among the mountains in a direction parallel to the ridge and the edges.

133 There are huge accumulations of pebbly, often deltaic, outwash beyond the south flank of the mountains, the layers sloping southward and giving sunward dip-slopes separated by small northward-facing scarps, the woods of which contrast with the arable lands on the dip-slopes. This pebbly outwash is deeply dissected by southward-flowing consequent streams, some of which rise in it, while others, like the Argeş, penetrate the mountain wall, making a wild narrow gorge. In the deep valleys of the pebbly material houses shelter from the north winds. The Olt has cut right through the mountains and captured a subsequent river of the northern flank, and its way through the mountains is by a deep valley, which is wider in some sections that are more or less "subsequent"
133 and narrower in others that are rather "consequent." At
361 about 20-25 km. southward from the mountain wall the residual hills of loose material that stand out between the consequent valleys milden down; the amount of alluvium and the breadth of the river valleys increase and it becomes possible to bridge the rivers, so it is at about this distance from the mountains that have grown the towns of Ramnicu Valcea on the Olt and Curtea de Argeş on the Argeş. Ramnicu Valcea is at the last narrowing of the Olt before it begins to braid on a broad alluvial plain, and its site is not easily defensible. The Argeş has terraces near the stream on the eastern side at the bridge, and the river has already swung against this bank some 2 km. north of the bridge. This gives defensible positions as well as facilities for bridging, and helps to account for the historic, if somewhat localised, importance of the town of Curtea de Argeş, the focus of the region of which studies were made.

H. J. F.
E. E. E.

5: Fleure S-5 (no date)1939 ED1 Rumania ED1

133
361


MONASTERY
CATHEDRAL
E
LATIN CHURCH
FAIR
GROUND
RIVER ARGES
400
440
480
520
560
600
640
N
MILE
APPROXIMATE SCALE

Plan of Curtea de Argeş. Wooded areas shaded. Heights in metres.

D

CURTEA DE ARGEŞ

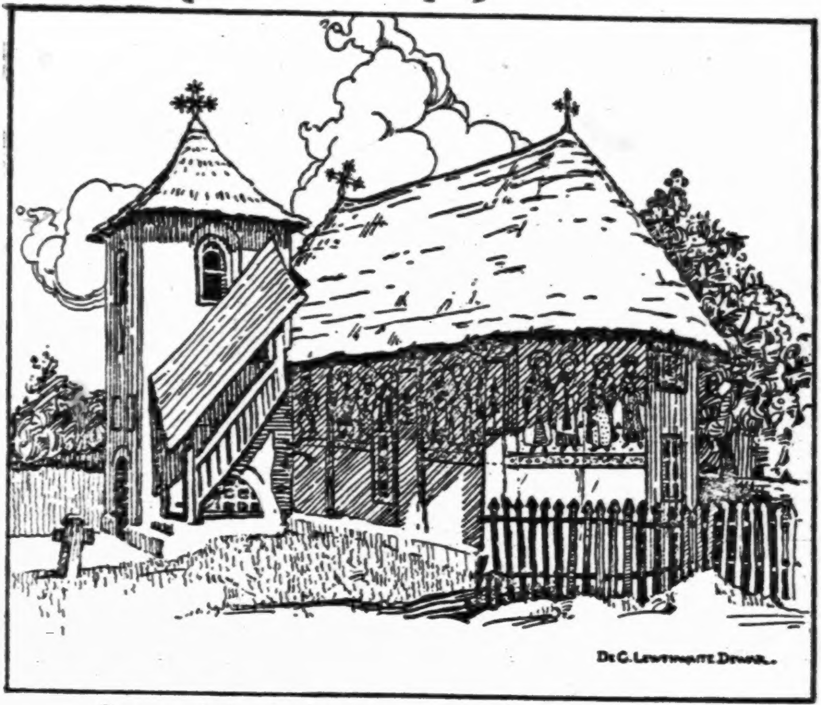
133 36 Reference has already been made to the bridging of the Olt and the Argeş about 20-25 km. from the mountain-edge and to the rise near these bridges of the towns of Ramnicu Valcea and Curtea de Argeş. It has also been explained that terraces on the left bank of the Argeş swing near the river to give an effective bridge-end site capable of defence. Curtea de Argeş is one of the oldest settlements in Muntenia.

At the bridge the river is over 420 m. above sea, and from its western end an old trackway, now a main road, follows approximately the 440 m. contour on what appears to be a terrace against which the river swings about 1½-2 km. north of the bridge. Here also gravel reaches, connected with the junction of a brook with the main stream, provide a ford; [7] and at this spot on the east side of the river there is the monastery of royal associations founded in 1510 and celebrated as a place of pilgrimage. Beyond this the road goes on up a tributary valley towards the east. The bridge and town however grew up not at this ford, but at a point farther south, where the north-south residual ridge bounding the Argeş valley on the east sends a spur almost to the actual river but just cut off by a seasonal tributary brook. The end of this spur shows two marked terraces, one just slightly above the river, the other some 12 m. above it and rising, as was said [3+4] above, to about the 440 m. contour. On the end of the spur is a ruined Roman Catholic church, built for Marghita, wife of Prince Basarab. The Wallachian princes of these days appear to have had a habit of marrying Catholic women. One seems to see faint indications that the site of this church has been to a slight extent developed artificially. In 1390 this church served as a cathedral for Catholics in Wallachia, and the see lasted until 1602, by which time many Catholics had become Orthodox and the Catholic bishopric was removed to Dacau.

[49] Reference has already been made to the north-south road on the terrace, no doubt a modernisation of an old trackway, with the town near the end of the spur and the bridge, and the monastery to the north. Near the end of the spur, and

[Curtea De Arges]

346


Dr C. Lewthwaite Drawn.

Cream-washed and painted church of St. Mary at Curtea de Argeş

33
361
[346]

related to the brook already mentioned, is a spring of some value. Above this, on the terrace, is the nucleus of the town—an Orthodox church (1352) of exceptional dignity and beauty, the Biserica Domneasca, built in a fortified enclosure. This scheme suggests comparisons with such Saxon villages as Cristian, near Sibiu, and several others, though there the church was Catholic. The fortification at Curtea de Argeş is larger than those at such places at Cristian, but it is far from being equivalent to the fortification enclosing the primary nucleus of Sibiu, for that nucleus included church, market places, shops and residences. It seems to have been a widespread rule that where a whole town was not walled there should be at any rate a fortified refuge enclosing the church. In the Slavonic parts of the European plain there were, of old, burgwälle or earthwork refuges, in some cases one for each area of about 120-130 km., or, say, fifty British square miles. These burgwälle sometimes became the nuclei of towns, the Wawel at Krakow being perhaps the best known among many examples. On the Wawel, and in analogous places in many

361 133 towns, stands a church in a fortified enclosure, and the town has been laid out beyond this. It is possible to infer that a similar process has worked itself out, but to a lesser degree, both in the Saxon villages of Transylvania and in such cases 361 491 as that of Curtea de Argeş. Here the church-and-castle nucleus is as usual the focus of roads, the principal one of which runs along the terrace as already mentioned. Two others lead down towards the river, one on each side of the fortification, but not exactly to the bridge, the position of which is rather determined by gravel banks where the small seasonal brook referred to above joins the river. Some other roads or trackways branch off in a bunch just east of the nucleus and stretch up into hills of unconsolidated material, their woodland cover increasing with altitude and becoming practically continuous forest at about 600 m. altitude over sea. Where the woods are not continuous there is pasture up to which animals may be drawn every day in summer. One of these roads leads past a little old church of S. Mary and appears to be an old track leading obliquely up the hill and over into the next valley to the east. Along the beginning of this trackway are the homes of numerous craftsmen, especially potters, but we did not get evidence of a guild or zunft of potters. We are not here dealing with quite the same scheme of organisation as that of a trade in a street within a walled town. The main business part of the town has lain between the bridge end and the road on the terrace, 10-20 m. above the river, and the town has been physically constrained to spread along that road. The extension southwards has an interesting eighteenth century house overlooking a square set out quite recently. The extension northwards towards the monastery gives a ribbon of buildings mostly modern.

369 443 ON THE WHOLE, one has the impression of a focus of peasant life with fairs and markets and opportunities of sale of craft products, especially pots, to country folk. There is evidence of considerable quite modern growth, and also apparently of growth one to two centuries ago, a growth which it is tempting to associate with agricultural development gathered around the spread of maize and potato, but proof is lacking.

361 771 CURTEA DE ARGEŞ owes a great deal of its importance to its religious and princely associations, and both the Biserica Domneasca and the monastery church are important here. The latter, near a ford, may well have more ancient associa-

[in Curtea de Arges -- 25 Analyst]

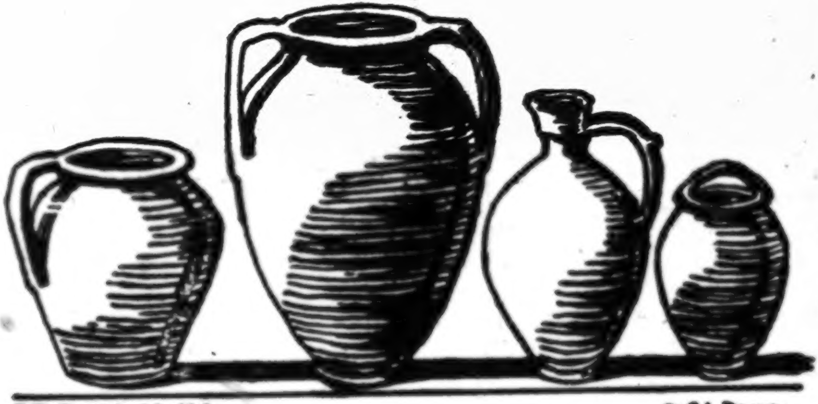
361 771 tions, but we know of nothing there before 1510. To the existence of the monastery, which is the seat of a bishop, is due the development of a seminary.

161 163 THE POPULATION[2] in 1930 was 6,831. In 1931 there were 181 births, 24 infant deaths (under one year), 20 still-births, and 125 deaths from all causes. Marriages numbered 61 and divorces 4. The birth-rate is thus high, the infant death-rate considerable, but not so high as might be expected; still-births are numerous.

H. J. F.
E. E. E.

1[cf Curtea de Arges -- Analyst]

415



BROWN CLAY.
WHITE & GREEN SLIP.

NOTES ON THE HOUSES IN CURTEA DE ARGEŞ

342 The small town of Curtea de Argeş has from time to time suffered destruction from fire, in consequence of which there is very little to be found in the way of early buildings.

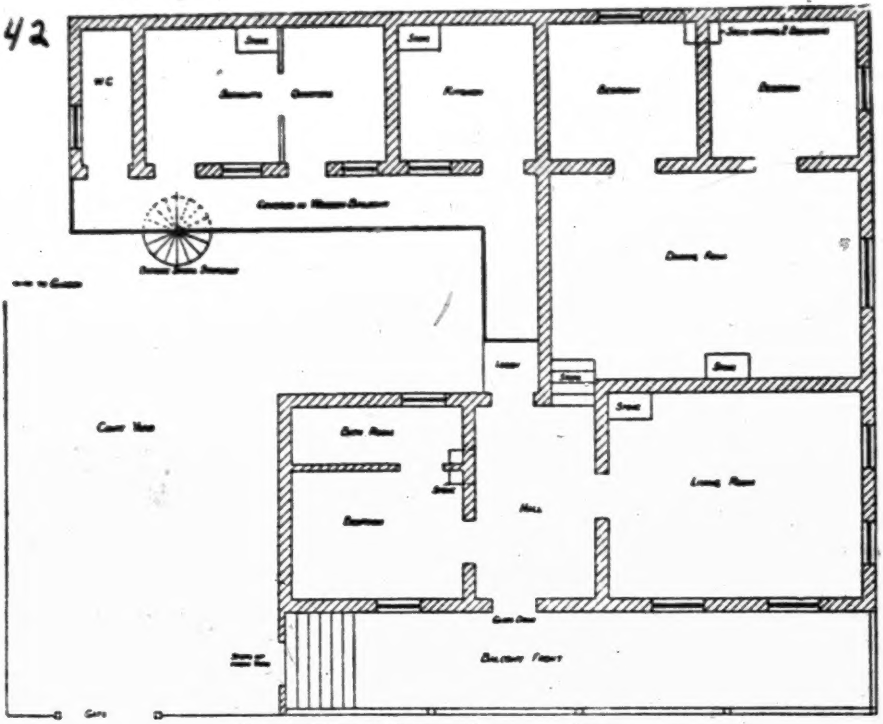
The oldest house in the town is that occupied by the present mayor and his family, and they claim that their ancestors have held the property since about 1630, when it was built.

The illustration (op. p. 28)* shows it to be a well-built brick structure with a fairly steep roof of dark brown shingles. The brickwork is whitewashed and is very solidly constructed. The present family uses the entire first floor as their dwelling-house. At some recent period part of the ground floor was converted into a restaurant. The spacious rooms under the balcony are used partly for the purpose of a store and the mayor has a private office there.

353 The dwelling has a peculiar and individual charm. The furniture is mostly in the traditional peasant style, and much of it is similar to that found in the simple houses, but shows a superior workmanship and quality. The bed, as in the living-room of every peasant, has retained its traditional place in this house, though in this case its purpose to-day is that of a divan or sofa. The coverings and cushions, hand-embroidered, and the woven wall-hangings round the bed, are such as may be seen throughout the countryside, though richer in the materials used and more artistic than most of those to be seen in the peasants' cottages, where often the primary colours are used with little attempt to grade the design by the use of intermediate shades. Small decorated patterns are to be found on the walls. The large living-room has an elaborate and beautifully-painted ceiling—a thing rarely found in the
[336] country houses. Modern sanitation, water-supply, etc., have
[291] been put into the house. The women of the present family choose to maintain peasant tradition in dress.

342 The spacious balcony, approached from the courtyard, serves for reception of guests in summer. Here meals are taken, and a good many of the household occupations are carried on.

*[see pp. 28a (HRAF pagination)-- Analyst]


WC
Servants Quarters
Stove
Kitchen
Bedroom
Bedroom
Dining Room
Larder
Court Yard
Bath Room
Bedroom
Hall
Living Room
Glass Door
Balcony Front
Gate

PLAN OF MAYOR'S HOUSE - CURTEA de ARGES

Measured by the Mayor and Miss Tatton *Drawn by M. Tatton*

THE EXTENSION shown on the left includes a kitchen, laundry and servants' quarters, added to meet the needs of the present family. Below these rooms are stables and storeplaces. There are several small houses in the town, all among the older buildings, which follow a similar plan. We examined about thirty houses in Curtea, and give below descriptions of two of these, which are typical. In addition, numerous photographs were taken, which illustrate how the houses vary in detail.

THE FIRST DWELLING is of a very common type found on the outskirts of the town. We singled out this one for its added

342

The House of the Mayor, Curtea de Argeş

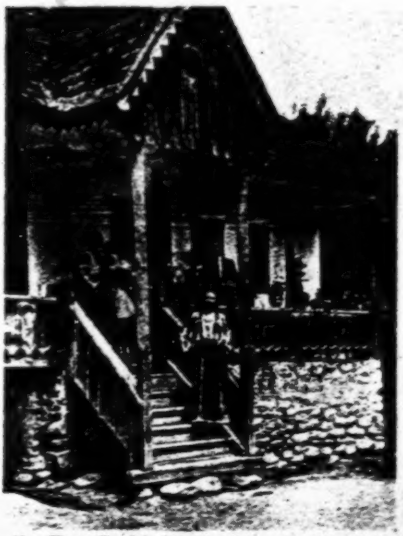
352

The interior of the Mayor's salon, Curtea de Argeş

5: Fleure S-5 (no date)1939 EDl Rumania EDl

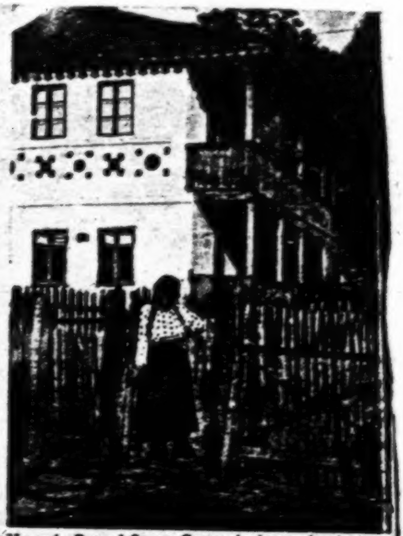
PLATE IV

342



Note. The walls of the house are 85 cm. in thickness; the rooms 2 metres 15 cm. high; windows 60 cm. in width and 90 cm. high; the balcony is 1 metre 85 cm. above the ground.
(House A).

Photo by H. J. Howard.

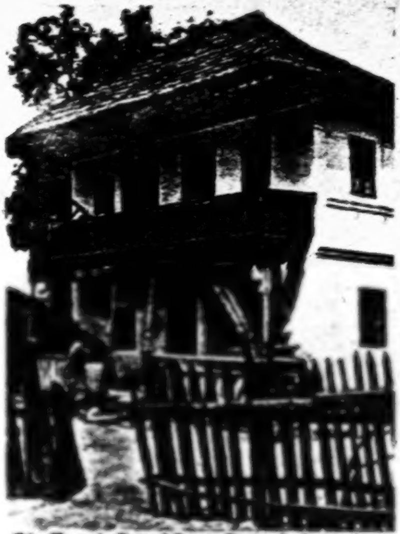


House in Potters' Street, Curtea de Argeș, showing how the potter has used his art in the decoration of his own house. Plaques and tiles of pottery let in plaster of side of house. Plaques and tiles of pottery are let in plaster of next balcony.
(House B).

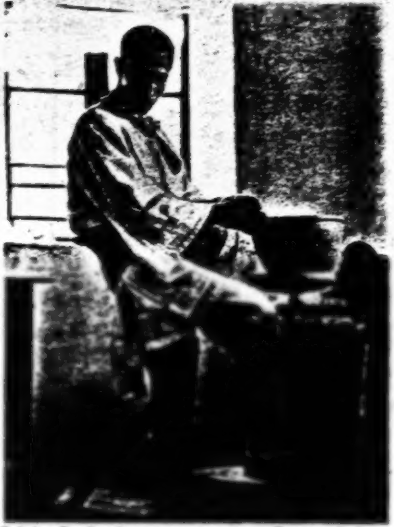
Photo by H. J. Howard

34

323



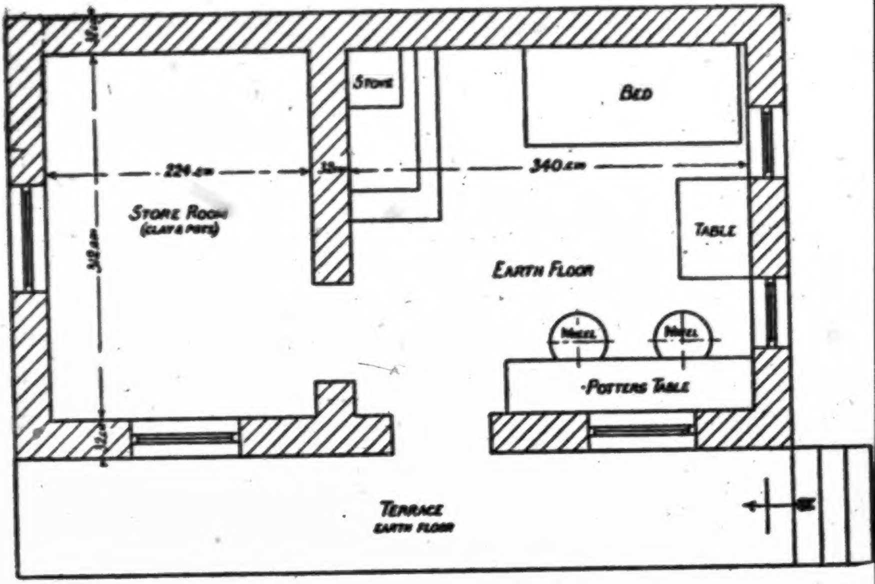
(B.) House in Potters' Street, Curtea de Argeș.
For plans see page [illegible].



It being Sunday the potter was not actually at work, but was wearing his finely embroidered shirt.
(House B.)

Photo by H. J. Howard

[page 286]

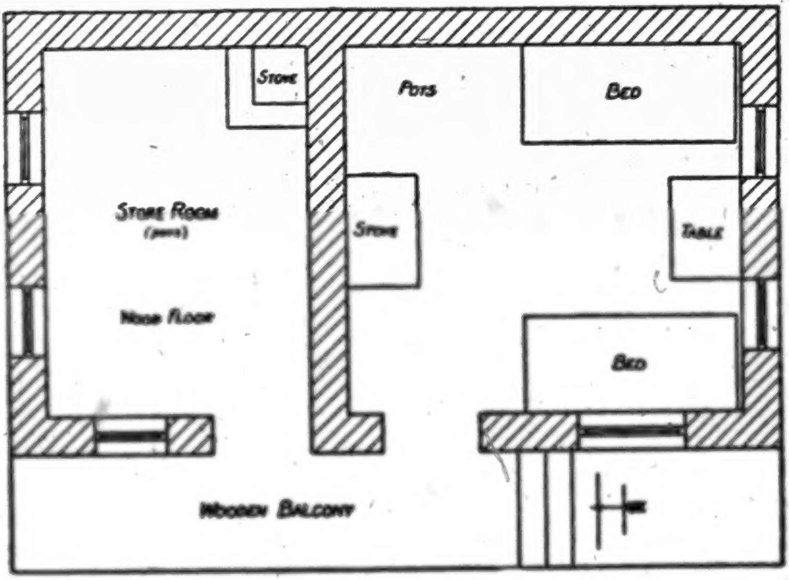

30
Stove
Bed
224 cm
32
340 cm
Store Room
(clay & pots)
342 cm
Table
Earth Floor
Wheel
Wheel
Potters Table
32 cm
Terrace
earth floor

House B

—— GROUND FLOOR PLAN ——

Drawn by M. Tatto

A House in the Potters' Street (see illustrations opposite).


Stove
Pots
Bed
Stove
Store Room
(pots)
Table
Wood Floor
Bed
Wooden Balcony

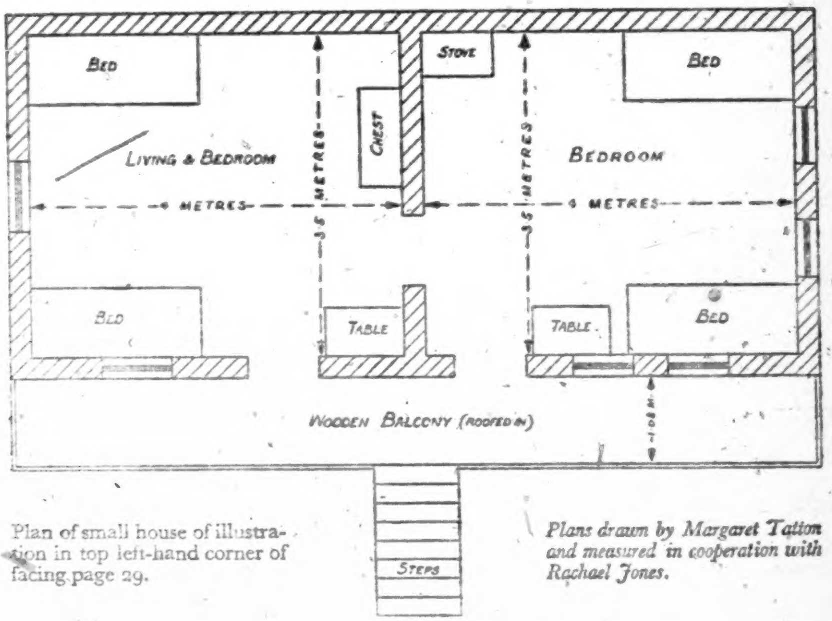
House B

—— FIRST FLOOR PLAN ——

Drawn by M. Tatton

A House in the Potters' Street

342



Plan of small house of illustration in top left-hand corner of facing page 29.

Plans drawn by Margaret Tatton and measured in cooperation with Rachael Jones.

interest in that its present occupants were busy over the forthcoming marriage of their daughter (age sixteen), and had many lovely things in the way of embroideries, clothes, cushion covers, etc., part of the bride's dowry, which we examined. The interior of the room on the right shows the girl's own bed, covered with the things she has made and embroidered to take to her future home. (House A, Plate IV.)

THESE WERE NOTED as follows: 10 pillows (ornamental), 12 sheets, 6 woven rugs for wall or floor, 2 woollen bed-covers (like long blankets), 4 woven bed-covers (patterned), 6 woven bed-covers (plain), and 20 towels (decorated). In addition, she was embroidering her own dresses and under-garments. Much of the work was quite fine and well done. We were informed that this dowry was a fair average one for a girl from this type of home.*

342 THE HOUSE ITSELF, which was built about fifty years ago, had brick and plaster walls, whitewashed throughout. Many of the houses are colour-washed, bright blue being a popular colour. The floors were of wood, as were also the steps leading up to the balcony. Chickens were housed in the vault under
000 the left room. There was a large garden, most of the ground

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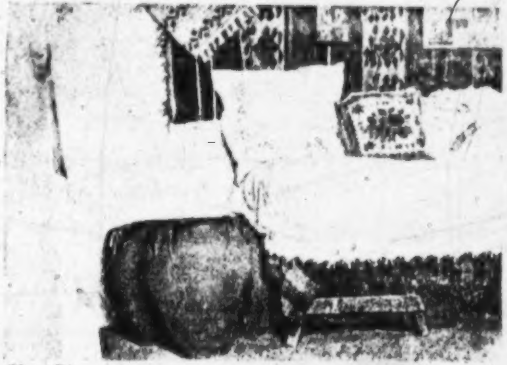
* Inventory by Rachel Jones.

1 [see pp. 30 on (HRAF pagination) -- Analyst]

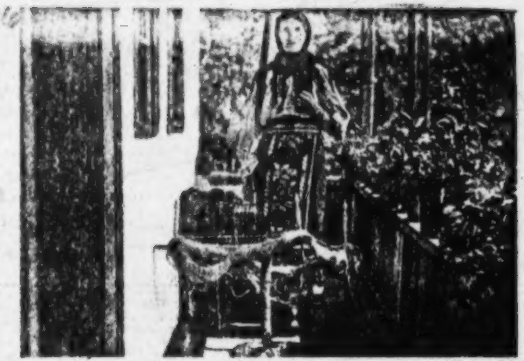
[Page 30 a]

353



(House B.)
Curtea de Argeş. The interior of the potter's house—his bedroom. Large unbaked pots were standing on the floor.

Photo by H. J. Howard



(House A.)
Curtea de Argeş. Primitive arrangement for winding warp lengths on balcony of house measured up by M. Tatton and R. Jones

323

(House B.)
Curtea de Argeş. The potter's kiln in his back yard. A primitive affair of sticks, poles and clay.

Photo by H. J. Howard

(House A.)
Curtea de Argeş. Part of trousseau. Rugs, blankets, cushions, bed-covers, etc.
Listed by Miss R. Jones.
Photo by H. J. Howard

5: Fleure S-5 (no date)1939 EDI Rumania EDI

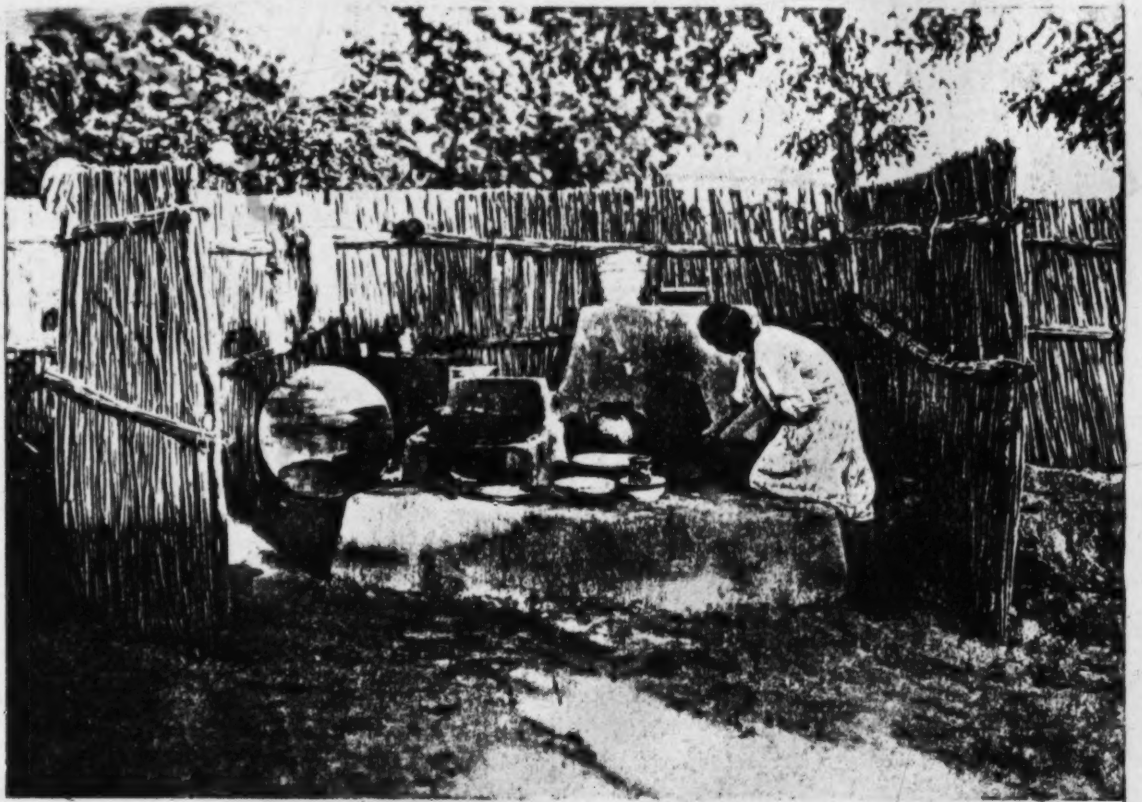
PLATE V

343
252

PLATE VI

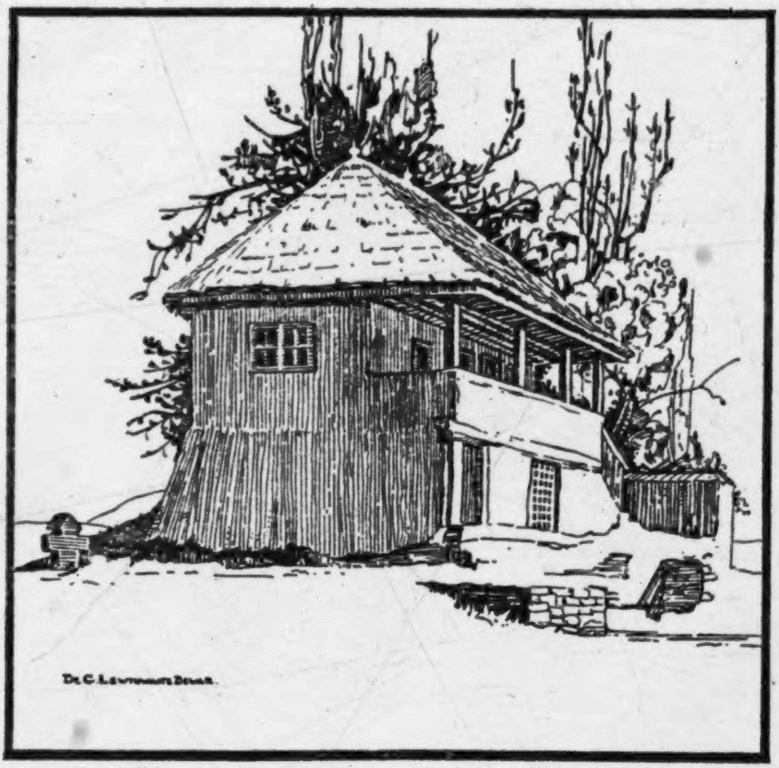
5: Fleure S-5 (no date)1939 EDI Rumania EDI

[page 30 b]



Outdoor Summer-Kitchen

342



A small house in Curtea de Argeş of similar type to Mayor's house.

249
343 being given to growing maize and vegetable marrows, though there were various small fruit-trees. The open space in front of the house had a summer kitchen. These out-door kitchens are used by almost all the peasants where an open space or yard of any sort provides available space (see illustration opposite).[1]

342 **The second house** which we visited and examined is illustrated facing page 29 (B).[2] This shows a well-built structure and represents the type which is more common in the town itself. The walls, which are whitewashed, are of brick and rubble and have an average thickness of 32 cm. There is a good shingled roof with good carved wooden decoration under the eave. The floor of the terrace is earth, and the entire structure of the balcony is of wood, without paint or stain. The end of the house has a pleasing finish in the form of a moulded cornice and pilasters (B).

This house is occupied by two families; the men, both being potters, share the potter's table (two wheels) in the lower house.

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[1] [See pp. 306 (HRAF pagination) -- Analyst]

[2] [See pp. 286 (HRAF pagination) -- Analyst]

342 352 THE CHARACTER of this house is of the simplest. The walls are whitewashed, the floors bare, and there is practically no furniture other than wooden beds and tables. The stoves are of porcelain, and wood or charcoal is used as fuel. 323 The usual practice is for potters to share a kiln with their neighbours. The one illustrated here was the property of this particular house and was placed in its yard (Plate IV, B).[1]

[463] THE FIGURES given by the mayor show that there are 101 potters in Curtea de Argeş. We visited a good number and found that most of them live and work under conditions similar to those illustrated here. The potters for the most part occupy houses in one area of the town. A fine clay is found locally and can be had for nothing, but it must be collected by the potter himself. This clay he stores in his house (see upper plan on page 29).

THE POTS vary in design within a limited range. They are mostly of a buff colour, with the main part of the outside unglazed. The inside is glazed brown and the rim is usually covered with a bright green glaze, which makes the pots very attractive; some pots have splashes of green in parts or all over them. Most of the pots are marketed locally and can be bought at a low price. The pot is often made porous so that evaporation may keep the water cool. [438] Pots are sent to other places near Curtea, but are not sufficiently strong, we were informed, for long-distance transport.

341 NEW DEVELOPMENT in housing is making steady progress. Some houses are still being constructed on the traditional lines, half brick half timber, and the "eye" in the roof, which is common in the older houses, is not necessarily omitted in the modern roof; tiles, however, are replacing the shingle. The wooden balcony is disappearing in the larger type of house and is being replaced by a brick verandah. These brick verandahs are built with ornate columns, sometimes with elaborate capitals. The classical influence is, in fact, strong, for some houses have a pediment, and in one ambitious dwelling the capitals were gilded and the pediments contained gilded decorations. The simple wooden window frames are now little used, and are replaced by elaborate mullions. Wall decorations in elaborate stucco or stencil work and ornamental details on doors are a common feature of the new houses. Most of the new houses are detached and stand in their own gardens.

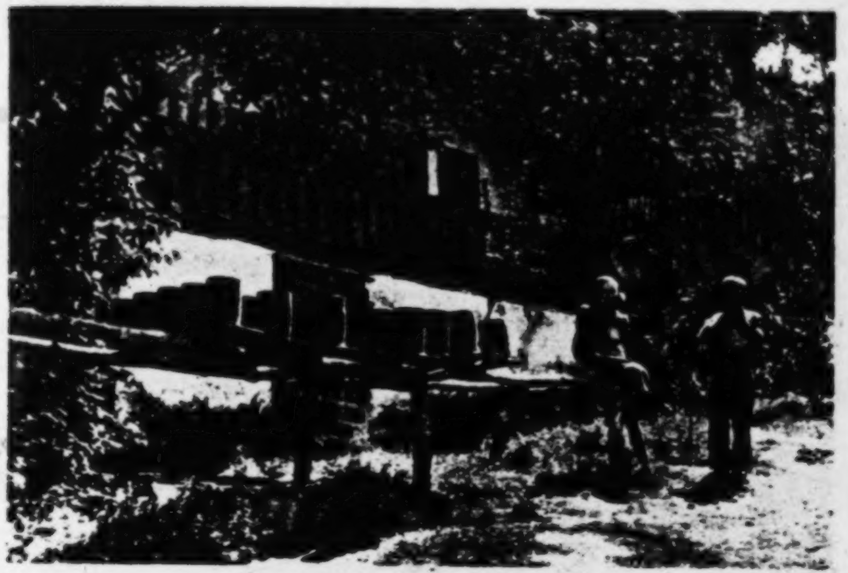
M. E. T.

[1] [See pp. 28b, HRAF pagination-- Analyst]

5; Fleure S-5 (no date)1939 EDl Rumania EDl

PLATE VII

342
323



Curtea de Argeş. A house in Potters' Street. Notice jars, etc., drying in the sun ready for baking.

Photo by H. J. Howard

283

Women separating hemp fibres from the stems after they have been retted and dried.

[page 32a]

PLATE VIII

Early morning at a Stână. Time about 5-6 a.m. Milking the sheep.

Early morning at a Stână. [illegible] Negrou [illegible] being released after milking.

EDUCATION IN CURTEA DE ARGEŞ

871 368 In the town there are five primary schools—three mixed, one for girls and one for boys. In the latter there is a kindergarten class for children between five and seven. There are two vocational secondary schools, the Theological College and the Technical School; these are for boys only. The nearest lycée for girls is at Piteşti, 37 kilometres away. Boys also must leave the town for ordinary secondary education.

872 The kindergarten was founded in 1928 by the Orthodox National Society of Roumanian Women. There is a special local committee of management. The room used is large; part of it serves as a cloakroom and for washing; the children use the same playground and offices as the boys.

[876] There are two teachers and about fifty-five children. Careful records of the progress of each child are kept. The children work in groups in low chairs at tables; no individual work is taken. Froebel's principles are followed, but Dr. Montessori's sense-training apparatus is used and Dr. Decroby's principles of teaching arithmetic are adopted.

Interesting handwork is taken: paper-cutting pictures, modelling in clay and in paper, lace, crochet, etc. The first twenty minutes of each morning are set apart for the care of plants and animals and of the classroom. Speech training, physical exercises, free-play and singing are taught; as the school has no musical instrument, much depends on the musical ability of the mistress. The training is similar to that of primary school teachers; the salary is fixed by the local committee.

[346] The primary school for girls that we visited is housed in a large building of one storey, standing in its own grounds; it contains, all leading out of a central hall, four large and lofty classrooms, a teachers' small-room and an art room; there are no cloakrooms, the children hang their clothes on stands in the classrooms. These rooms are rather bare, but very light; they are heated by a big porcelain stove and the desks take three children. In summer classes are held in the garden. The

872 size of the classes varies from 40 to 50 children; there are five teachers. The Head takes a different class each year. The hours are from 9 to 12 and from 2 to 4. Some preparation is done at home. Holidays are generous—eight weeks in the summer, two at Easter, two at Christmas. There are no fees, but children buy their books if they can. The time-table and the syllabus are drawn up by the Minister of Education, and are the same for all schools. Inspectors visit frequently. There [758] is a full medical inspection of each child at the beginning of the year and then each subsequent month. In the first four years the curriculum resembles that of an English elementary school; in the fifth and sixth years the girls combine with general subjects either a commercial, an industrial or a housewifery course. In the seventh year they concentrate on vocational subjects and open their morning working away from school.

We saw some good examples of handwork, clay modelling, paper-cutting pictures, dolls in national dress, etc., and in Class I—the seven-year-olds—some most amusing pictures for the teaching of numbers. Religion is taught daily; there is a religious service on the first day of each month and the children go together to church with one teacher every Sunday.

874 If a girl wishes to become a teacher in a primary school, after four years in such a school she must spend eight in an École Normale and then teach for three years before obtaining her full diploma. For secondary school teaching, after eight years in a lycée the girl goes, at nineteen, to the university for three or four years, and then spends four months in a lycée pédagogique. She then takes her "examen de capacité."

The Theological College, housed in a large red-brick building now being enlarged, takes 260 boys, many of whom come from a distance; all are boarders. The course lasts eight years: four years in the High School (12-16); four years in the College (16-20). Entrance is by means of an examination in Religion, Roumanian, Mathematics and History; there were in 1936 100 candidates for 40 places. The boys are worked very hard; lessons are from 8 to 12 and 2 to 4; preparation from 6 to 7.30 a.m. and from 7 to 9 p.m. In the High School the languages taken are Latin and French; in the College the course includes Greek, German, Pedagogy, Philosophy, Psychology, Sociology, Church History. The course at the College is followed by four years at a university.

874 **The Technical** or Trade School is one of forty such schools in the country. The Minister of Education has ordered this number to be doubled. The boys come from all districts and can go on to a higher grade Trade School. There is a still higher grade of school in Roumania called the Academy, from which pupils are turned out as teachers.

In this Trade School at Curtea de Argeş the boys live in and pay an inclusive fee of 4,500 lei per annum; those attending as day boys pay only 760 lei per annum. Two-thirds of these fees must be paid at the beginning of the session; the cost of material is not included.

Boys can enter between the ages of 11 and 15; the number taken is 100. They are divided into four classes. The subjects taught are Woodwork, Pottery and Tailoring. In woodwork, when the boys leave they are considered to have qualified in all the processes of house-building and furnishing. [323] In pottery, the chief industry of this town, the *traditional* shapes, colouring and decoration (mostly of ships) are charming, but *modern* designs and shapes are less good and often tasteless.

[353] **The classrooms** are airy and heated by stoves. The boys sit in couples. The walls are hung with pictures of Roumanian history and of architectural interest, e.g. York Minster, Notre Dame, the Forum, etc. Each room has a religious picture. The woodwork room is large; each bench has a wooden vice; the wood is neatly stacked on a large shelf a few feet from the roof. Few tools were seen, as they were being prepared for next session. There is a room set apart for exhibiting the work done. All articles are for sale, and the pupil gets most of the money. Both the french polishing and the chip carving reach an excellent standard.

[7[illegible]] **The military service** required from boys attending Trade Schools is of one year's duration only. There are in the country five Higher Trade Schools—at Bucureşti, Braşov, Craiova, Iassi and Turgul Mureş.

N. H. S.

MEDICAL CONDITIONS AT CURTEA DE ARGEŞ

361 161 131 Curtea de Argeş is a small town of 6,831 inhabitants (in 1930), situated in the valley of the River Argeş, at an altitude of 1,400 feet.

312 A series of wells supply the town with water, there being no system of pipes to supply running water. The drainage system is necessarily of a primitive type, the dry closet type being the one in use.

745 The town possesses two hospitals:

(1) A general hospital with pavilion for epidemic cases.

(2) Home for incurables—a branch of a nerve clinic in Bucharest.

The general hospital is situated in the centre of the town on a slight eminence, a few yards from the main street. It consists of two wards, one for men and one for women. The cases are mixed, medical and surgical cases being nursed in the same ward. There are fifteen beds for men and fifteen for women. In addition there are two small wards for clean surgical cases, each containing two beds.

The beds are of the usual hospital type, but placed close together about three feet apart. The mattresses and pillows are stuffed with straw and are very hard. The patients wear their own clothes. This being summer, less than one half of the beds were in use. The villagers refuse to come to hospital in summer, when there is work to be done in the 754 fields, unless in cases of stern necessity. A belief in witchcraft 164 and secret remedies is prevalent, so that progress as regards treatment is hampered. Epidemics of dysentery and typhoid are common. Tuberculosis is widespread, and goitre is found in all the villages in this valley. Cretinism in the children is untreated, and most villages contain cases. No medication of the water supply is undertaken. Pulmonary tuberculosis is treated in sanatoria, but other cases of tuberculosis are admitted here. Cancer is also common, but is not dealt with here—the cases are sent to Bucharest for radium treatment.

164 Rickets[1] is unknown, and difficult labour among peasant
women is rare, though puerperal fever is common. In some
instances, if there is a midwife, she is shared by several
[847] villages. A law has recently been passed forbidding attempts
at abortion, but it is not strictly enforced. There are a good
many infant deaths. Maternal morbidity is not high, in
[142] spite of the prevalence of puerperal fever. The women as a
whole are robust, of good physique and inured to hardship.
[757] The French treatment of sepsis by induced (turpentine)
abscess is common and is found to be very successful, the
fever running its course in 7-8 days, with low mortality rate.
[855] Children are breast-fed, feeding bottles being unknown. The
feeding continues until the age of one year or longer. Infantile paralysis is unknown in this district, though it does occur
in other parts of the country. Rheumatism and arthritis are
common.

743
752 A SMALL operating theatre is attached to the hospital[1] for emergency cases like suppurating appendices and ruptured hernia, other cases being sent to the hospitals in larger towns. Small surgical operations are also performed. The table is convenient, in that it can tilt at any angle from head to foot, but it cannot be lowered or raised at will. The only light is a small electric globe high up in the ceiling, with no facilities for lowering. Operations are, however, mostly done in daylight. If necessary, lamps or even candles are requisitioned. A small room for sterilising purposes opens off the theatre.

743
164 THE PAVILION for infectious cases is situated about twenty feet from the main building, in close proximity to the staff house and kitchen. Its beds were empty at the moment of inspection. Scarlet fever is the most common epidemic in this vicinity, and the beds were full one month ago. Epidemics of dysentery and typhoid also occur. Typhus is not known here, though frequent in Bessarabia. Diphtheria is fairly common.

759 THERE[1] ARE a medical doctor and a surgeon in attendance, the latter being only part-time.

743 THE HOME for the incurables[1] was next visited. It is a handsome villa, situated near the main street, but farther from the centre of the town. As before stated, it is a branch of the nerve clinic in Bucharest, and is under the supervision of

[1] [In Curtea De Arges -- Analyst]

743 Prof. Dr. Cantacuzene, who visits it two or three times yearly. A doctor is in charge with a Sister of Mercy as nurse and two untrained local nurses, one for the men and one for the women. There are thirty male beds and twenty female [764] beds. The cases are mainly paralytic and epileptic, with a certain number of war invalids and diabetics. The beds were mostly empty when seen, as the cases are ambulant.

BATHROOM and lavatory accommodation in both hospitals is necessarily primitive.

759 744 THERE ARE three other doctors in the town—one for the military, another for the insurance societies, and a third for the direction of general sanitary work, corresponding to a British Medical Officer of Health. The headquarters of the last-named are at the Mayor's office. Medical inspection takes place once a month in the schools, each child being examined thoroughly each time. There are no dentists in the town, extraction of teeth, etc., being performed by the [751] local doctors. Vaccination is obligatory and is done when the child is one month old. At the age of seven, on entry into school, a second vaccination is required, and in the case of a boy, at the age of 18, when he begins his premilitary service.

758 AS REGARDS payment for medical treatment, poor people who cannot afford to pay are treated free, otherwise 10-20 lei is charged for a consultation and 20-30 lei per day in hospital. Most of the patients are insured against sickness by paying regular contributions under State guidance.

759 DOCTORS RECEIVE their training in one of the three centres, Cluj, Bucharest or Jassy. Cluj is considered the best equipped. So far there are no medical text-books in Roumanian. German text-books and German medical traditions are followed at Cluj, while French text-books and French traditions are in use at Bucharest and Jassy. One year is spent in preparation, Chemistry, Physics, etc., being studied. Five years of actual medical work, theoretical and practical, follow. For the past eight years a further course of two years in specialised work at a hospital has been insisted upon.

N. H. S.

[in Curtea De Arges -- Analyst]

FARMING AROUND CURTEA DE ARGEŞ

Amy R. Burgess

133 In the region of Curtea de Argeş the river flows in a valley of varying width, floored with fine sandy alluvium and bounded by somewhat rounded hills. Some traces of river terraces are discernible.

The land of this region can be divided into four categories: (*a*) arable, (*b*) hay meadows, (*c*) forest, (*d*) high mountain pasture. The arable land is principally on the first terrace, but stretches both down the slope to the valley bottom and up the slope to the second terrace. The hay meadows are above the arable land, spreading upwards towards the
[137] forest. The forests comprise 75 per cent of the total area, and consist mainly of timber trees, such as beech and pine, together with a considerable number of walnut trees. The high pastures are above the forest belt and may be as much as fifty kilometres away from the village centre of the commune to which they belong.

423 The arable land is owned by the peasants, holdings ranging from less than one hectare to fifty hectares, the majority being from two to five hectares. The smallness of the holding
[428] is due partly to the laws of inheritance, by which the land is divided between the children on the death of the owner; and partly to the fact that the district is so hilly that only small areas are available for cultivation.

241
476 The hay meadows belong to the commune and are both worked and used collectively by the peasants, all necessary organization being in the hands of the mayor and committee.

471
[313] The forests are largely state-owned, although some portions belong to the commune, in which case the peasants are allowed to cut for their own personal use (house-building, implements, etc.), but not for profit.

[235] The high pastures belong to the commune; the peasants pay a small fee to the commune for their use (20 lei per head per season for sheep, rather more for cattle).

132 An important climatic feature affecting agriculture is the shortness of the summer, late spring and early autumn frosts

132 being common at this height (440 metres and upwards). July and August are the hottest months.

THE MEAN annual rainfall for Curtea de Argeş (taken over a period of nine years) is 672 mm. Precipitation occurs all the year round, but the rainiest months are May and June.

243 THE PRINCIPAL crop is maize, from which not only is the staple food "mamaliga" made, but the stems and leaves are used for animal fodder and bedding. Oats and rye are grown for fodder on the larger farms only. Wheat is not grown in the region. Soil and climate are suitable, but at present the peasant possesses very little machinery; harvesting would have to be done with a sickle or scythe and threshing with a flail. It is easier to buy such wheat as is required from the Wallachian Plain.

244 IN ADDITION to the above, every farm, however small, grows various vegetable crops: pumpkins for fodder, tomatoes, paprika, potatoes, onions, runner beans, cabbages, aubergines, often amongst the maize, sometimes as ground crops in the orchards.

246 CULTIVATED FODDER crops are grown only on the larger farms, and consist of clover, lucerne and sometimes a mixture of vetch and oats, and very occasionally turnips.

THE LOWER slopes of the hills form the natural hay meadows of the commune, but occasionally the grass of the orchard is used as rough pasture.

248 HEMP IS grown on the low-lying farms, usually as a boundary crop for the maize. Flax is also grown, but very few sunflowers.

245 AN IMPORTANT aspect of agriculture around Curtea de Argeş is fruit cultivation. Apples, pears and plums are the main crops, with occasional cherries. Every farm, however small, has some fruit trees, sometimes scattered over the whole holding, but more usually in a small orchard. Sufficient apples are grown to allow a considerable export trade to Bucharest. Plums are used for the manufacture of the alcoholic drink tuica in Curtea de Argeş. Recently plum-drying has been tried, and is already being taken up successfully by the more enterprising peasants. Walnuts also are gathered and sold.

PLATE 1

313

Kumpana. Forestry Logs, etc., lying by stream-side ready to be dealt with.

—*Photo by H. J. Howard*

Forestry. Kumpana. A kind of barrage where logs are let through into shoots graded as regards size. They are then rolled down to side of railway and rolled up inclines on to the trucks. *Photo by H. J. Howard*

[page 40a]

5: Fleure S-5 (no date) 1939 EDI Rumania EDI

PLATE X

313

Kumpana. Forestry. As the logs pass down the "shoots" a man on the elevated platform sees that logs of even lengths are let out at side of "shoot" for loading on to the trucks seen on left-hand side. *Photo by H. J. Howard*

252
342

The Argeş District. Visit to Forestry section (Kumpana). Inside of forestry hut, showing large open stove for cooking meals. Huge logs of wood were being burnt on a stone hearth. There were sleeping bunks for the lumber-jacks all round the sides of the hut. *Photo by H. J. Howard*

[page 40b]

241 PAID AGRICULTURAL labour is very rare; the work of the farm is done entirely by the peasant and his family, including women. Modern machinery is still almost unknown, so that agricultural practice is rather that of the garden than that of the field in our Western sense.

PLOUGHING IS done with a wooden plough tipped with iron and ox drawn. Sowing is done largely by hand, while intermediate operations, such as hilling the maize, are done with a hoe of the form illustrated on page 59. Harvesting, if not done by "pulling" (e.g. flax), or picking (e.g. fruit), is done by means of a sickle (maize) or scythe (hay).

[242 AMONG SOME farmers some idea of rotation of crops is understood, but only very imperfectly; in many cases it is not practised at all, the same plot of land being used for maize year after year.

ARTIFICIAL FERTILIZERS are seldom used, peasants depending for renewal of fertility upon animal manure and ploughing in and burning the stubble. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the yield is low and crops poor in quality.

[22] SOWING BEGINS at the end of April or the beginning of May (oats) and continues until the middle of June. Harvesting begins as soon after July 20th as possible and continues until the end of October, when the last of the maize is gathered.

231 ANIMALS PLAY an important part in the agricultural economy of the Rumanian peasant. Every holding possesses sheep, particularly milking ewes, milking cows, draught oxen, perhaps a horse or horses, pigs, together with geese and fowls. Few holdings are without one or two hives of bees. Occasionally on a very small holding (less than one hectare) milking cows are replaced by goats. During the summer (from the beginning of May until the end of August) the sheep and such cattle as are not needed at the farm for draught or milking purposes are sent up to the high pastures. Pigs are sometimes sent up with them, but not goats. During this time the animals left are either fed on fodder crops at the farm or are sent out daily to pasture on a portion of the hay meadows set aside for that purpose. On being brought down from the mountains the animals are pastured for a short time on the hay meadows from which the crop has already been taken. They are then brought back to their

231 owner's farm, where the cows are kept in sheds, and the sheep, which are more hardy, are penned on the arable land, particularly on the maize stubble. Both sheep and cattle are fed on fodder crops during the winter. The surplus animals are sold at the autumn fair, and form a source of revenue.

476 Whilst on the high pastures the sheep are clipped twice,
[236] and the wool is divided amongst the peasants in proportion
[234] to the number of animals sent up. The cheese is usually
shared by the owners of the animals in the same way, the mayor and his committee being responsible for the correct apportionment. In the Valley of the Argeş co-operative dealers from Bucharest frequently buy the cheese "in bulk" direct from the commune, and the monetary value is shared between the owners of the animals.

231 Oxen are used almost exclusively for draught purposes, the numbers kept in this district being somewhat in excess of the farmers' requirements, owing to their use for lumbering (see below).

241 Peasant farming in the Valley of the Argeş is no longer
[369] entirely on a subsistence basis. Two factors have tended to
modify it. Firstly, the position of the valley, opening as it
[439] does directly on the Wallachian Plain, with its rich grain
lands and containing the capital Bucharest, has allowed commercial intercourse to develop. The Argeş peasant no longer cultivates wheat; he does not mind if his maize crop is good enough for fodder only, for he can buy both wheat and maize from the plain. Further, he finds a ready market and so a money income in Bucharest for his surplus fruit,
313 particularly apples, and cheese. Secondly, the forests form a
valuable asset to the peasant. During the winter felling takes place in the upper basin of the Argeş; in spring and summer the timber is transported, and work in the State mill in Curtea goes on all the year round. Practically every household has somebody working in the timber trade, and the money so earned (as much as 100 lei per day for a man supplying his own yoke of oxen) reduces the dependence of the family on the farm.

874 At Curtea de Argeş is the School of Agriculture, Regina
242 Elizabeta. Although only a small percentage of its pupils
is local, it is gradually influencing the farming of the neighbourhood. Experiments in cultivation, plant breeding and

574 the use of machinery are carried on at the school. Advisers
242 are sent out to the farms, and seeds and plants, as well as
artificial manure, are supplied to the peasants at a very low
cost. Machinery is also loaned out cheaply. The average
157 peasant, however, is very conservative, and progress is slow.

SOME DETAILS OF TWO FARMS: AUGUST 1936

FARM A

423 SIZE: one half-hectare approximately. This farm is situated
241 approximately two miles north of Curtea de Argeş.

THE HOLDING consists of a narrow rectangular strip, bounded on one of its long sides by a rough lane and on its short side by the main road. The ground is fairly level and sufficiently above the river to be well drained. (See Plan A for utilization of land and arrangement of buildings.)

Animals

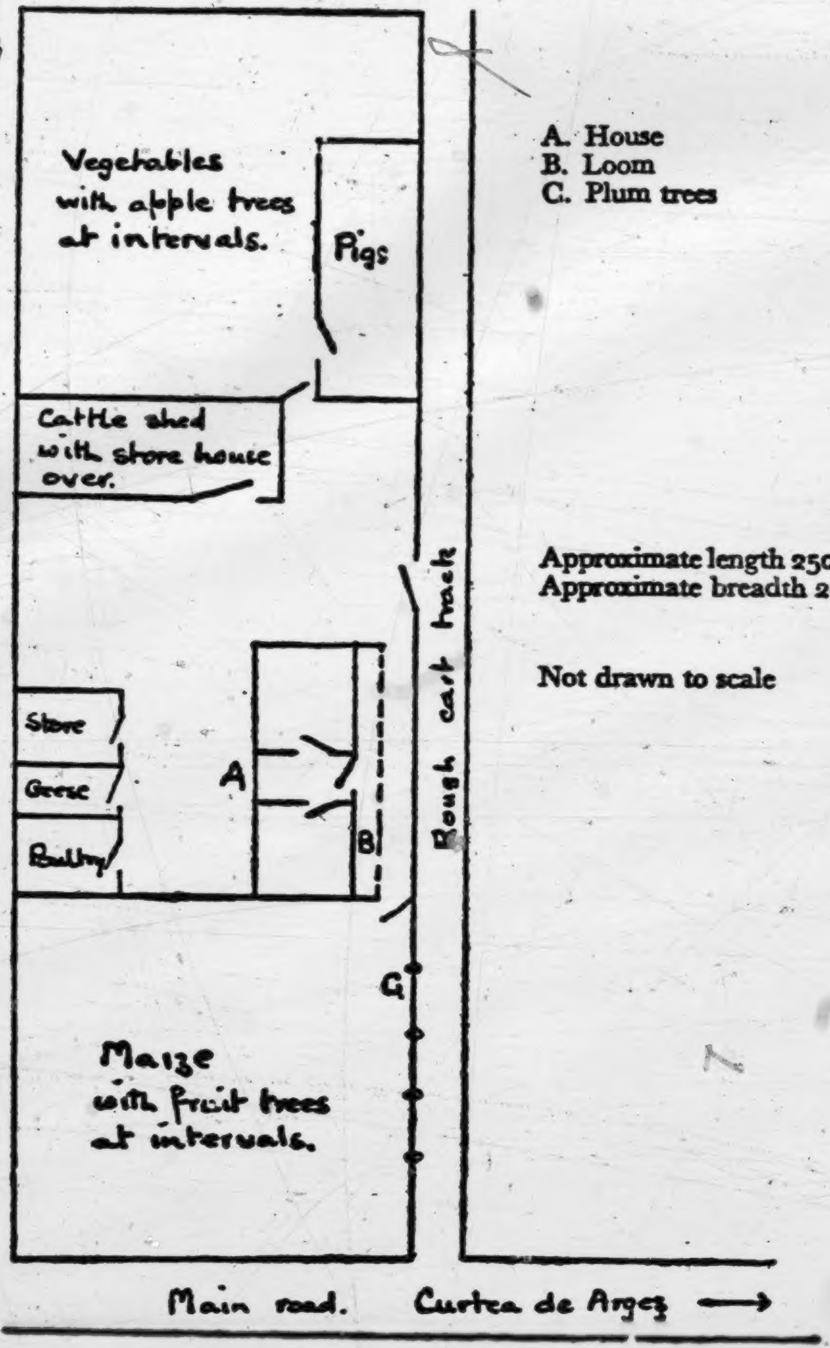
23 2 milking cows, 2 calves (at farm), but no oxen (this was unusual).
10 sheep, away on high pastures.
3 pigs, at farm.
10 geese, 6 ducks, 50 hens.

FARM B

SIZE: Five hectares approximately. This farm is situated at Corbeni, several kilometres north of Curtea de Argeş, at a point where the river valley widens out and the river braids. The farm is situated on the second terrace. The plot is rectangular, with its narrow side bordered by the road and its long side running parallel to the river, thus giving a well-drained but flat holding. The son of the owner holds a diploma for agriculture and the farm shows every evidence of prosperity. See PLAN B for utilization of land and arrangement of buildings.

SMALL PEASANT HOLDING

(Farm A)


Vegetables with apple trees at intervals.
Pigs
Cattle shed with store house over.
Store
Geese
Poultry
A
B
C
Rough cart track
Maize with fruit trees at intervals.
Main road.
Curtea de Argeş ⟶

A. House
B. Loom
C. Plum trees

Approximate length 250 m.
Approximate breadth 20m.

Not drawn to scale

Drawn by A. R. Burgess

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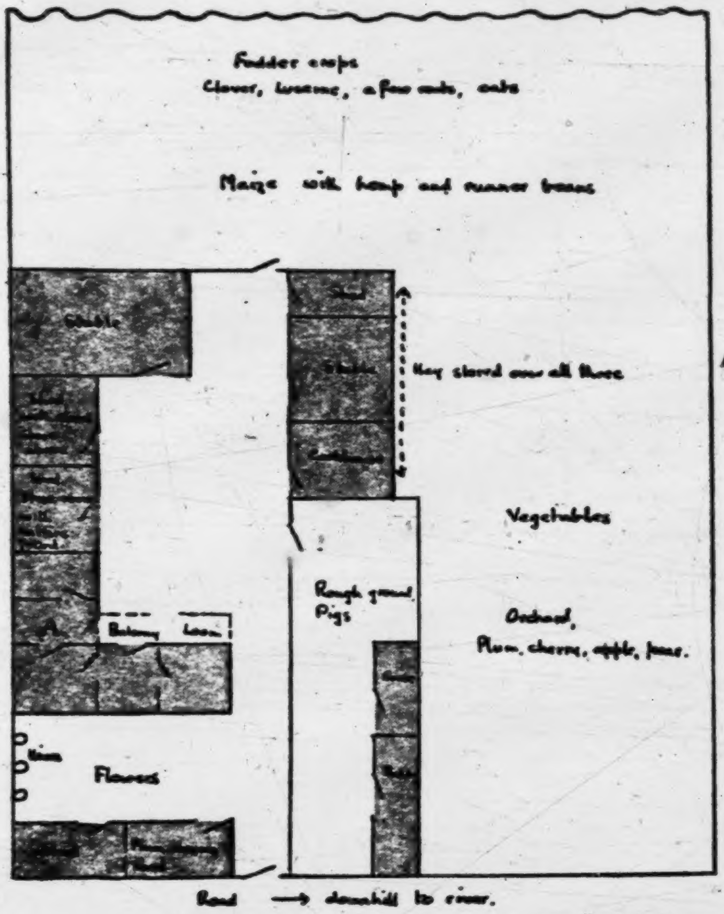
423

PLAN OF LARGE HOLDING

(Farm B)

Approximately 5 hectares
Not drawn to scale.


Fodder crops
Clover, lucerne, a few oats, oats
Maize with hemp and runner beans
Stable
Hay stored over all three
Vegetables
Rough ground
Pigs
Orchard,
Plum, cherry, apple, pear.
Balcony
A
Flowers
Road → downhill to river.

A. House with food store under.

Drawn by A. R. Burgess

231

Animals

5 milking cows, 2 at farm, 3 with calves away on the high pastures.
2 draught oxen.
2 bulls.
100 sheep, away on high pastures.
2 horses.
3 pigs.
30 goats at farm.
Large number of poultry (fowls and geese) impossible to estimate.
2 hives of bees in flower garden.

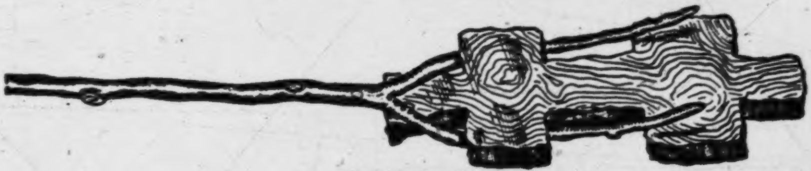
221

AGRICULTURAL CALENDAR

April.	Preparation of ground, sowing of oats and vetch. Sheep go up to low hill pastures.
May.	Sowing of maize, potatoes, beans. May 1st, sheep go to high pastures.
June.	Sowing of fodder crops; all sowing finished by middle of month.
July.	Early part of month, first cutting of hay, making and collecting. July 20th, beginning of harvest, i.e. flax, cherries, oats and barley.
August.	Middle of month, second cutting of hay, oat harvest, plum harvest, followed by apple and walnut harvest. Harvesting and retting of hemp. Some ploughing of grain stubble. August 31st, sheep return from high pastures to low hill pastures.
September.	Beginning of maize harvest, sheep penned on maize stubble as soon as possible.
October.	End of maize harvest according to season.
November to March.	Sheep penned on maize fields, cattle kept in sheds and fed on hay and fodder crops.

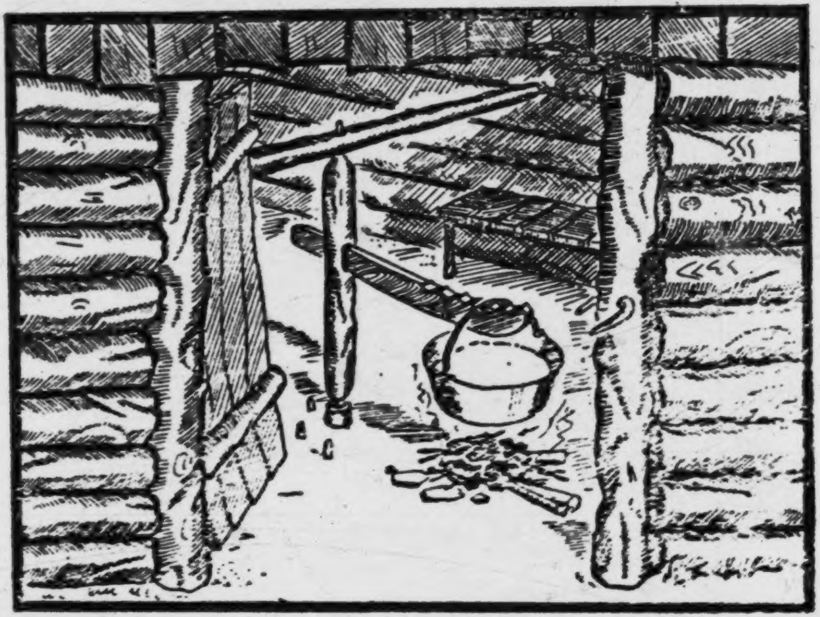
A. R. B.

412

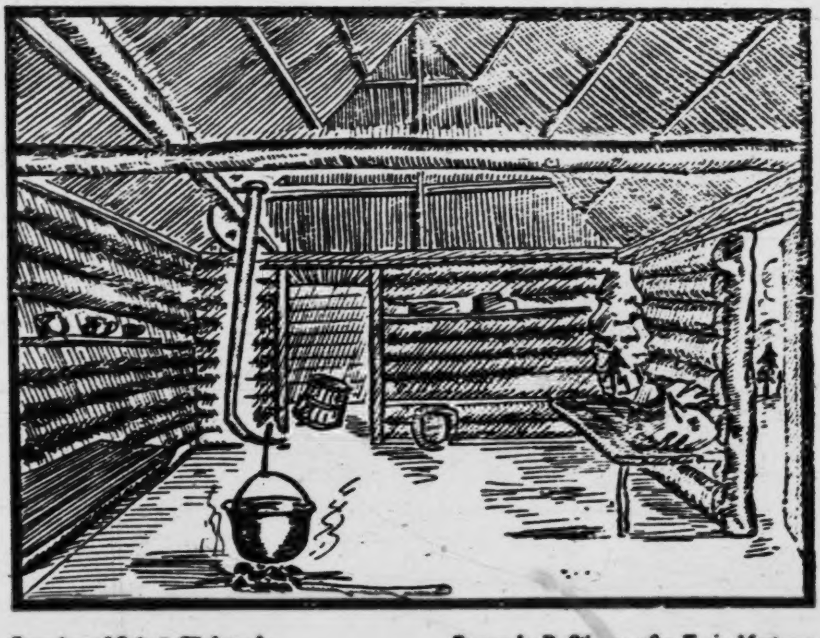


Mould for hay fork

342
352



Interior of Stână Găujoara. *Drawn by P. Stinson, after E. E. Evans*



Interior of Stână Cărbunele. *Drawn by P. Stinson, after E. de Martonne*

See page 51

TRANSHUMANCE IN THE SOUTHERN CARPATHIANS

233 221 IN THE SOUTHERN CARPATHIANS we have a region which still retains its pastoral activities, little disturbed by the social and economic forces which have invaded the pastoralists' domain elsewhere. Few Roumanian villages are without sheep, and in the summer great numbers are taken to the high pastures when these become free of snow. This seasonal migration, or transhumance, is an ancient feature of European life, and a study of its forms and functions in Roumania not only throws light on important aspects of peasant life, but provides valuable comparative material for the study of similar movements in regions like western Britain, where transhumance survives only in a modified way.

[291] SHEEP ARE the pivot of rural economy in these Carpathian lands; the pastoral element pervades all aspects of peasant life—from the traditional costumes of woollen cloth trousers and sheepskin waistcoat to popular poetry and music. But the intimate contact with upland pastures thus ensured has been of deeper significance: it has enabled the Carpathian peoples to preserve their sense of unity when the lowlands were overrun by invaders, while the contacts maintained between summering groups have helped to preserve the Roumanian language and kept its dialectal variations within limits. In a very real sense, the Southern Carpathians are the heart of Roumania.

133 PHYSICAL CONDITIONS have, from very remote times, favoured the development and survival of pastoral life. The steepness of the forested valley slopes which isolate the upland core is in strong contrast to the gently undulating platforms which rise above the tree-line, at about 5,000 feet, and terminate in rugged glaciated *monadnocks* which may reach 8,000 feet or more (Negoiu, 2,544 m.). The prolonged erosion of Tertiary times which produced the upland platforms also provided the great masses of unconsolidated material—mostly coarse sands—which now form the extensive foothills stretching half way to the Danube over a width of some sixty miles. Curtea de Argeş is one of the settlements of this foothill belt,

133 dependent for the working out of its economy, as for its setting, upon the high Southern Carpathians.

233 133 WHILE IN some parts of Roumania all the sheep must be moved to distant highlands in summer, there are many regions which have sufficient local pasture to keep a certain proportion of stock through the year. This applies to the country around Curtea de Argeş; here the late Tertiary (Pliocene) deposits are provided with frequent terraces. The lower terraces are glacial and may be three in number; higher up the dip-slopes of the coarse sands have often been cleared of the bad forests which still cling to the scarps, while at all levels slips have occurred in the loose materials to produce small mesa-like areas, sparsely covered with grass, juniper and birch, accessible to nimble sheep and goats.* In general, however, such local pasturage is reserved for cows in milk, while young cattle and bullocks, if not required for the many activities of farming and forestry, are sent with the sheep to the high pastures.

WE MAY best examine some of the features of this transhumance by following the sheep in their movements through the year in the valley of the Argeş and its background of high mountains, the Fagaras, extending eastwards from the valley of the Olt. The commune of Corbeni, some seventeen kilometres upstream, provides us with a few figures. Here is the first widening of the Argeş Valley, for the river has left the last range of the Carpathians (1,500 m.) through which it cuts one of the great gorges which characterize this zone, and it is here entering on its braided course through the [137] Miocene and Pliocene deposits to the south. The proportion of forested land in the commune is high (75 per cent), and its 2,500 sheep can be maintained only by extensive transhumance. The summer pastures are from thirty to fifty kilometres distant, the stâne† extending from the forest's upper limit (1,500-1,600 m.) to the scarred rock faces of the high core at 2,000 m. Each commune has its stână, 471 which takes its name from the mountain on which it is 233 situated: it is the property of the commune, but there are certain payments to be made each year for the services of

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*Goats tend to be kept only by the poorer peasants; they are naturally not encouraged by the Forestry authorities.

†Stână (singular). The word is applied as here to the summer pastures and also to the huts where the shepherds sleep and make the store the cheese. By extension it is sometimes used for the general economy of transhumant shepherding.

471 the shepherds and cheese-maker. These dues, amounting to
233 some 10 or 20 lei per sheep, are worked out each year by a committee which regulates the financial side of the transhumant economy.

234 EACH STÂNĂ[1] has its baciu or cheese-maker, who is paid by
233 the commune. In some districts this scheme is varied by arrangements which must represent modifications of the
471 old economy of collective shepherding. Occasionally a large farmer may be proprietor of a stână and may possess enough sheep to run his own pasturing, in which case he may either hire a cheese-maker or fill that rôle in person. Or he may let his stână to the highest bidder, who pays in cheese obtained from the flock. From this it is a short step to the emergence of the middleman who, possessing no sheep himself, rents a pasture and guarantees to return an agreed quantity of cheese per sheep to those who send him their stock.

233 BEGINNING OUR account with the descent from the mountains,
221 we find that the uppermost pastures are abandoned by the last day of August, and the return downhill takes place during the first fortnight in September, being normally completed by September 14th (The Feast of the Cross). The sheep are driven to the local pastures until the maize crop is gathered, when they are penned on the stubble. Movement uphill begins about the middle of April and is completed by May 1st in an average year, St. George's Day (April 23rd) being a central date. Each peasant is responsible for driving his own sheep, using recognized tracks which tend to follow the watersheds. The sheep thus avoid the deep valley-crossings and can avail themselves of occasional natural clearings for temporary halts in a journey which may last a week. These are points of some importance in connection with the study of ridgeway roads generally.

342 THE SHEPHERD's hut is a log-cabin erected on a single foundation-course of boulders. It is roofed with shingles or long planks; the gable is boarded above the level of the eaves, and a gap at the apex serves in place of chimney. Scarcely any metal is used in the construction of these summer dwellings, which serve as dairies and storehouses in addition to providing shelter and sleeping-places for the shepherds.
000 The furniture is of the simplest, but much ingenuity is

[1] [for explanation see footnote 50 pp. 49, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

352 The furniture,[1] is of the simplest, but much ingenuity is displayed in contriving hinges, benches, and so on, the devices used having an air of ancient custom about them. Nearly all the woodwork could be done with the axe (see
354 p. 47). A simple crane, the probable prototype of the iron
372 hearth-crane as we know it in Britain, allows the pot to be suspended at the desired distance from the open wood fire, which burns on a rough hearth towards the centre of the stamped earth floor. A certain sanctity attaches to the fire: it is not allowed to go out, and much ceremony accompanies its lighting. The "living fire" (*focul vin*) should be prepared on arrival at the head stână[2] of the commune's pasturage, by means of two sticks rubbed together, and the operation should be performed by a pure youth, otherwise the flocks will fare badly. The fire must then be carried to the other huts. We were not able to observe this custom, but the shepherd-boy at the Stână Găujoara, situated to the north of the watershed some fifteen miles south-west of Sibiu, was persuaded to show us how the fire was lit. Here the more familiar "flint-and-steel" method was used, but in place of flint the sparks were obtained from a piece of quartz, a substitution which suggests one reason for the common ceremonial use of quartz by ancient man in Europe.

233
462
000 In the Carpathians, as in Europe generally, there is much variation in the personnel of the transhumant shepherds, but the exclusion of women in some areas is a feature for which parallels cannot readily be adduced. In Norway it is the women who take the flocks to the summer pastures, an arrangement which is natural where the men are fishers. The same scheme is found in parts of the Central Plateau of France, where the men cannot be spared from their work in the fields, and the same appears to have held for the Scottish Highlands. Switzerland offers the best example of mass transhumance, and the movements formerly practised in Wales and in Ireland, though simpler and less regular, seem to have involved men, women and children. The *hafodty*, described by Welsh writers early last century, was a cowhouse with a fire at one end, but no chimney, and, except that the whole was stone-built, the assemblage of pens and shelters must have closely resembled the Roumanian. In Wales, too, ewes were milked and sheep's cheese made into the nineteenth century.

In the Carpathians, while some stâne are inhabited by

[1] [In the shepherd's hut -- Analyst]

[2] [For explanatory footnote see pp. 49, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

462
233 In the Carpathians, while some stâne are inhabited by families of shepherds, others have men only, and purely "feminine" stâne are not unknown. There appear to be regional differences based perhaps on the varying requirements of the lowland crops, and all forms are said to be of some antiquity; it cannot be shown that the "masculine" stâne represent an older type than those where both sexes [834] take part, or vice versa. But it is significant that in some parts there is a definite *tabu* against women, and the shepherds must have no relations with them in the prescribed season, from the arrival at the stână to July 20th (St. Eloi). In the areas we visited, while the shepherds were exclusively male, women from the villages occasionally ride up with messages or food, and may stay at the hut for a day or two.

234 On reaching the pastures, to resume, the sheep are divided into separate flocks—milkers and non-milkers, lambs and wethers. Only the milkers are kept in the immediate neighbourhood of the stână, the rest being driven uphill or to the shelter of the forest's edge, according to their requirements. Two milkings are usual, about 6 o'clock morning and evening. The sheep are driven into the *strunga*, a fenced enclosure near the hut, where the shepherd-boy introduces them one by one into a narrow roofed exit at which the milkers sit. The milk is forthwith poured into a copper cauldron over which the *baciu*[1] stands at the fireside, stirring [illegible] the contents with the peeled, spiked top of a spruce. The copper pot is tinned inside, this work being done by the gipsies. Into the simmering milk the *baciu* throws a pinch of rennet, and then works the curds into a thick pulp. A simple press—a canvas bag twisted with a tourniquet and weighted with a stone—next comes into use, and after three days salt is added and the cheese is finally kneaded and stored in a sheepskin which has been specially prepared by drying and scraping. This is cheese of the first quality (brânză), a poorer quality (urdă) being obtained from the whey left in the copper after taking out the curds. The urdă is often stored in small skins, e.g. rabbit, or in containers made of bark or hollowed branches. Much of the cheese in these days is bought by co-operative societies.

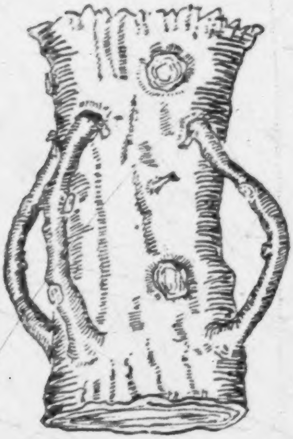
262 It is the duty of the *baciu*,[2] further, to prepare food for the shepherds. Onions, beans and paprika make vegetable soup, and maize-bread and cheese complete a diet which may be varied now and again with smoked mutton. Another task

2[For explanatory footnote see pp. 49, cat. 116 — Analyst]
2[cheese maker of the stână —52— Analyst]

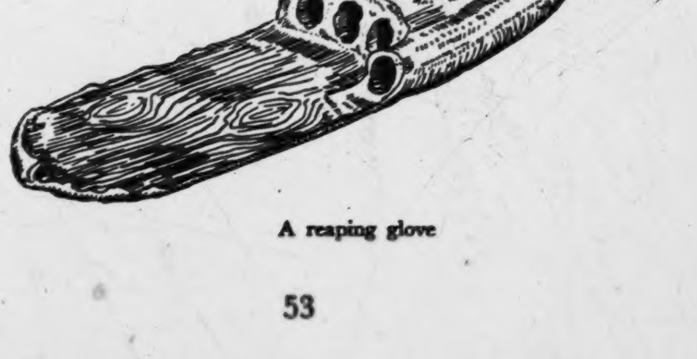
Another task
233 devolving on the shepherds is the shearing, which is done
[236] twice in the summer, but they are spared the "dipping"
regulations, which British shepherds find so irksome. For
the rest there is much to be done to keep the flocks healthy
and safe from wolves, to look after the dogs, to carry water
[51 and cut wood. In rare moments of leisure the shepherd will
be found blowing his simple pipe, or singing songs, or carving
a stick with his versatile knife, cutting out those ancient
geometric patterns which are the common heritage of peasant
Europe.

E. E. E.

415



A Beetle



A reaping glove

THE FAIR

543
443
CC

In agricultural communities it is customary for the exchange of goods to be concentrated at certain periodic gatherings known as fairs. The countryman has little time to spare for commerce, and where an element of pastoral nomadism is present, as in Roumania, the times of meeting will be closely restricted. Fairs tend, in Europe, to be held in summer; frequently at the beginning and end of summer—in May and November—when the year's routine is broken by seasonal changes of activity. They are often well developed in regions of pastoral nomadism, where they serve as social centres and may be regarded as temporary market towns. The weekly *suq* in Morocco, for example is an essential feature of the economic and social life of the country, which has recently been studied by Mr. Fogg.

In Europe, where the market town is an ancient product of rural society, fairs usually supplement the functions of established towns, although in origin they are thought to be much older than urban life. They have been described as parasite towns brought into being to meet the periodic needs of country dwellers, but such a description fails to reveal their significance.

The subject of fairs in its social and economic aspects has scarcely received the attention it merits in the history of Europe. It is true that the great fairs of the Middle Ages, such as those of Champagne and Flanders, have often been described, but they were "commodity fairs," concerned with the exchange of goods over wide areas and frequented by merchants from all parts of Europe. As is well known, the *foci* of these great fairs moved eastwards into Germany in the sixteenth century, and again in the nineteenth century into Russia, where Nijni Novgorod has held an exceptional position for over a century. In central Asia, as in Africa (cf. the annual *mouggar* of South Morocco), much commerce is still conducted at such commodity fairs. While the development of communications and of means of exchange has undermined the large fairs in Europe, the local fair is still an active institution.

PLATE XI

291
531

Two peasants at the fair. Curtea de Argeş.

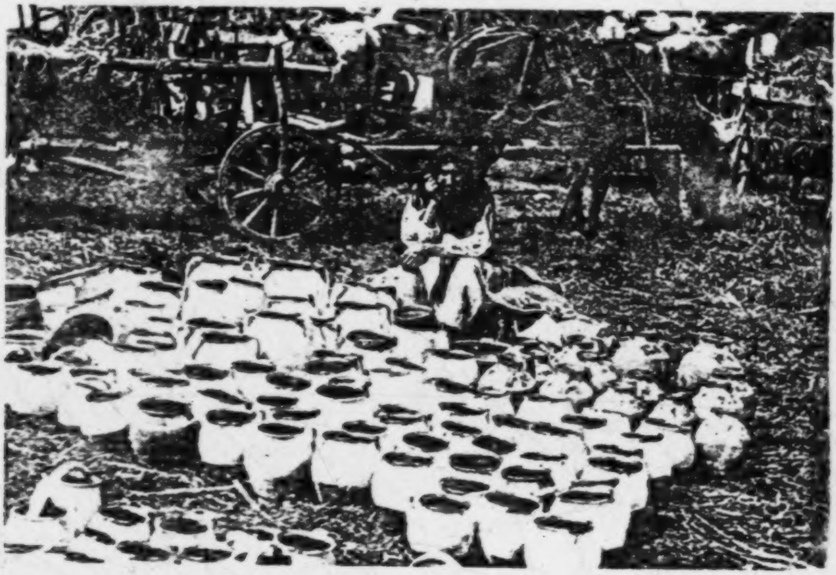
A hand-embroidered peasant's blouse. The back is as richly decorated as the front. (Peasant woman at Curtea de Argeş.)

Curtea de Argeş. Peasants in their richly embroidered coloured costumes arriving at the fair.

Photos by H. J. Howard

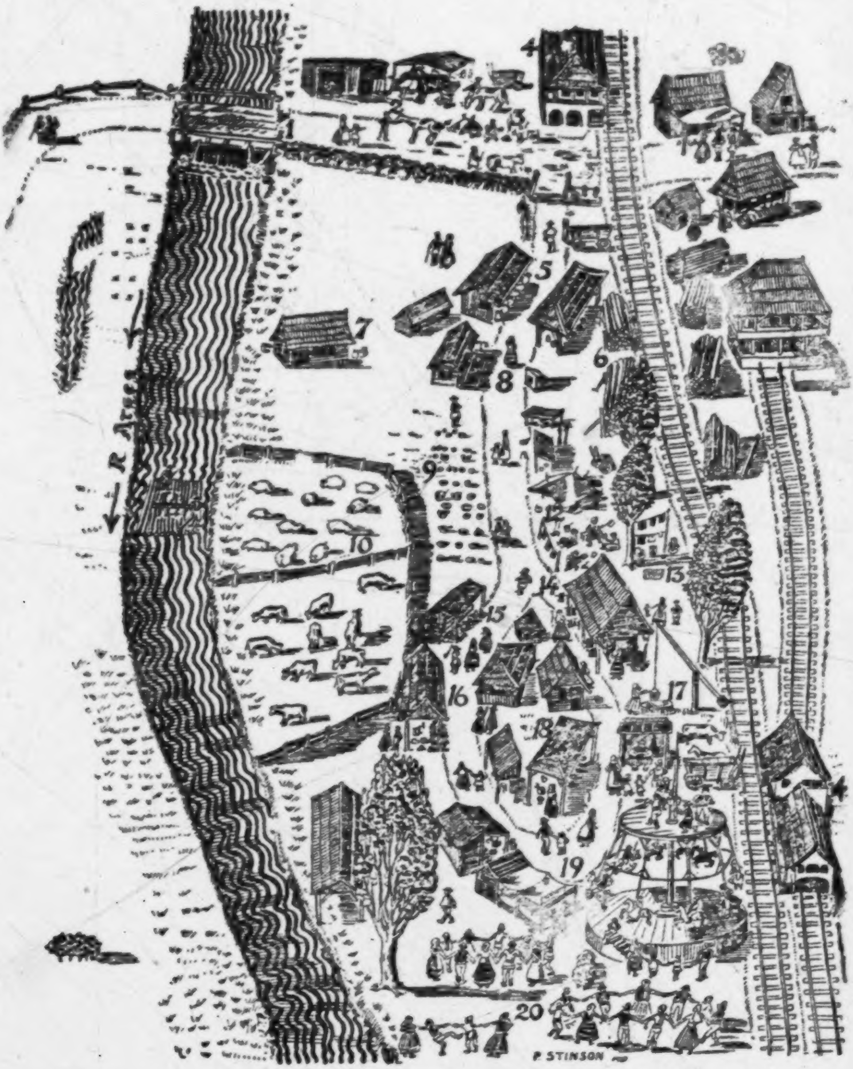
[page 54a]

PLATE XII



Curtea de Argeş. Pots were sold at the local fair. They had been made in the village. Cart for packing and bringing pots shown in background.

5: Fleure S-5 (no date)1939 EDl Rumania EDl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20
R. Argeș
P. STINSON

PLAN OF THE FAIR.

Drawn by P. Stinson after E. E. Evans.

1. Bridge.
2. Shoeing-smith.
3. Tinker.
4. Stations.
5. Stores for salt, maize and fruit.
6. Timber.
7. Mill.
8. Weighing machine and toll office.
9. Pots.
10. Enclosures for animals.
11. Food stalls.
12. Gipsy camp.
13. Skirts and rugs.
14. Shirts and waistcoats.
15. Leather goods.
16. Factory goods and trinkets.
17. Well and peasant carts.
18. Restaurants.
19. Amusements.
20. Dancing.

543 527 443 THE FAIRS at Curtea de Argeş are held twice a year, each lasting about a week and ending respectively on August 15th (Assumption) and October 25th (St. Demetri). The association with Christian festivals is a widespread feature (the word "fair" is derived from *feriæ*, feast), the fairs attracting the crowds which gather for the festivals. It can sometimes be shown that the time and place of meeting are older than Christianity and that the periodic pagan assemblies later received the sanction of the Church. The fair, at any rate, satisfies a deep peasant instinct for worship, the exchange of goods and social intercourse.

THE AUGUST fair at Curtea corresponds with the early harvests of fruit—especially the plum—and, formerly, with the cereal harvests (buckwheat and millets) which maize replaced. It is probably connected in origin with the Lammas fairs of the West. The first of August, in the ancient Celtic calendar, marked the beginning of autumn and was celebrated as a harvest festival. In Ireland the day is still called Lewy's Fair, and is traditionally associated with the lighting of fires, with games and the making of marriage matches. Lammas fair is the largest of the year in some Irish towns.

THE OCTOBER fair would seem to derive its importance primarily from the return of the stock from the mountain pastures, when cheese and wool and surplus animals can be exchanged. A feature of the October fair is the high proportion of sheep and goats among the stock offered for sale. In the French Alps, too, the autumn stock fairs are the most important of the year. The maize harvest has by this time been gathered even in the Carpathian valleys, where winter sets in early. But whatever the position may once have been, the fairs are now more concerned with goods than with stock.

543 CURTEA FAIR-GROUND is situated on the flood plain, on waste ground kept free of permanent habitations by the danger of spring floods. The scarp leading to the first river-terrace rises steeply behind and is planted with trees which provide [312] some shelter for peasants and animals. Here, too, under the scarp, is the well which supplies the needs of man and beast. [496] The main railway—terminus of the line downstream to Pitesti—has extensive sidings on the first terrace immediately behind, while the branch (timber) line to Cumpana runs

543 through a corner of the fair-ground as it begins its journey northwards. The fair-ground extends from the bridgehead, where in former times there must have been a ford, southwards for an indefinite distance between river and railway. A tributary stream which joins the Argeş at the bridge is named, after the fair, Valea *Tărgul*. From the bridge a lane winds southwards to the rows of buildings and sheds which 256 constitute the permanent nucleus of the fair. Here is the corn mill, perhaps once dependent on power from the river, but now driven by electricity. We may note in passing that among the many survivals in the Carpathians is the horizontal water-wheel, used here as in Norway to turn corn mills. The mill consists of a log-hut erected directly over a stream 543 or a branch of a river. The sale of cereals, chiefly maize, is 443 also conducted by the mill, at the entrance to the fair, and there are stores of building materials, fruit, rock-salt and charcoal.

Rows of permanent open-sided sheds face each other along the "main street" of the fair, and are hired for the duration by merchants and caterers. Other goods—mostly those brought by peasants—are displayed in improvised booths or exposed on the ground by the wayside. Further on, the inevitable amusements are concentrated in a corner of their own, the stalls in this section increasing in number throughout the week, until pleasure becomes the chief business by the last days of the fair. This is the natural culmination of events which begin with the sale of cattle in the opening days; the "order of the fair" is a traditional feature of such gatherings everywhere.

543 But in Roumania there is another element which contributes 326 to the variety of the fair—the gipsies who pitch their camps 563 behind the booths and hawk trinkets or unobtrusively engage in metal-work and wood-carving. They appear to keep apart from the rest. To them the food-stallholders bring their copper pots, used for boiling fat, for retinning, while the peasants drive up the draught oxen which may need to be reshod. The tinning is done over an improvised hearth and a handful of charcoal; the shoeing—by the bridge-head—requires somewhat more elaborate equipment in the shape of [735] a forge and a post and ropes for felling the oxen. Finally, squatting by the wayside, or actively exhibiting their sores, there are the beggars and cripples, who complete the human picture.

543
443 WE HAVE classified the chief items observed at the fair between August 11th and 15th, 1936.

1. *Livestock.* Draught oxen, cows and calves, pigs and piglets. A few horses and goats. No sheep or fowl. The bargaining for cattle is completed when the buyer contrives to thrust a piece of silver into the hand of the seller. Acceptance of the earnest is followed by a hand-clasp.

[391] 2. *Agricultural Implements and Metal-work.*—It is said that gipsy-made metal tools were formerly displayed, but what little metal-work is now sold is factory-made and comes mostly from Czechoslovakia—cow-bells (of sheet-metal), horse-bells (of cast-metal), knives, etc. Hay-forks are gipsy-made, as are washing tubs and cradles, hollowed out of split tree trunks. Kitchen spoons are hand-carved. Wooden saddles and gipsy-made baskets and brooms may come under this head.

3. *Fruits and Vegetables.*—Tomatoes, potatoes, sweet-corn, onions, garlic, peppers, cabbage, water-melons, gherkins, aubergines, pears, apples, plums, blackberries. Also eggs and cheese.

[323] 4. *Pottery.*—The chief local craft is naturally well represented. The vessels, displayed on the ground, vary greatly in size, decoration and purpose; but they are all of brown clay, usually with simple floral patterns and debased geometrical designs in burnt sienna, yellow and green: vessels with or without lids, with or without handles, with or without spouts, glazed inside, outside, or both, in size ranging from salt-and-pepper stands to large waterpots. We find the old device of making pots in imitation of birds and animals.

[282] 5. *Leatherwork.*—Several booths display white leather sheepskin waistcoats, having the wool inside and the outside decorated with applied strips of thin orange-dyed leather embroidered usually by machine stitching, but occasionally by hand. These waistcoats are made at Curtea de Argeş. Leather belts, 4 to 6 inches wide, are machine-stitched but hand-tooled; they have buckle fastenings. Bridles and saddlery. Knotted leather thongs for whips. Hempen ropes for halters are sold in this section, too. Ready-made boots and shoes. The bulk of the shoes for sale, however, are made of rubber, in the shape of the traditional pointed shoe of skin. Most of them are cut from old motor tyres, but others are now made from specially manufactured rubber strips which repeat the patterns of the tyres.

543 443 [286] 6. *Woven Goods.*—Here the high skill and craftsmanship of the Carpathian peasant is most obviously illustrated. Woollen cloths are the commonest, carded wool also being offered for sale. Linen, silk and hempen stuffs are displayed, the finer materials often having gold or silver threads woven into them; they are made up into blouses, skirts, veils and belts. Some machine-made cotton goods also for sale.

[531] 7. *Embroidered Goods.*—Velvet waistcoats with gold embroidery and bead work. Linen or woollen cloths are embroidered with wool, silk, or mercerised cotton. Round sequins, thought to betray Turkish influence, are very popular.

8. *Carpets.*—Locally woven carpets of traditional colours and designs far outnumber machine-made copies of Persian carpets.

9. *Food and Confectionery.*—Bread, doughnuts, sausages, fish, gingerbread, sweets. Sugar dolls, hearts, circles, diamonds and other shapes. Sugar rosaries. Drinks are hawked by Turkish itinerants. The restaurants and drinking booths have gipsy fiddlers.

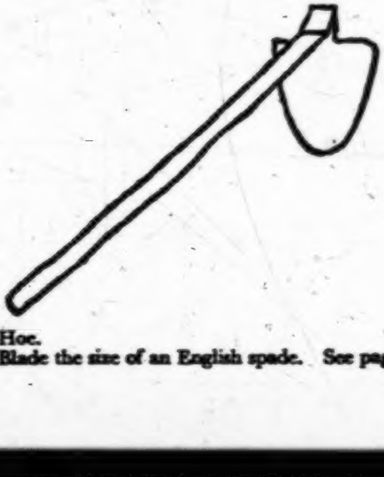
10. *Cheap Jewellery.*—Trinkets, mirrors, beads, combs, buttons, studs, pins, rings, brooches, etc.

543 517 11. *Entertainments.*—The fat woman and the one-minute photographer, shooting ranges, cock-shies, games of chance, fortune-telling. The merry-go-round is driven by five men, who push it round on a high wooden platform fixed to the central axis, with the accompaniment of peasant music. Other bands supply music for the dancing which takes place under the trees.

543 443 APART FROM the gipsy goods and the articles offered in the permanent booths, the goods displayed vary from day to day as different groups of peasants come in from the country. There is a constant coming and going of bullock carts over the bridge, bringing in stock and peasant products for sale. The normal limit of influence exerted by the fair is some 25 kilometres.

E. E. E.

412



Hoe.
Blade the size of an English spade. See page 41.

5: Fleure S-5 (no date)1939 ED1 Rumania ED1

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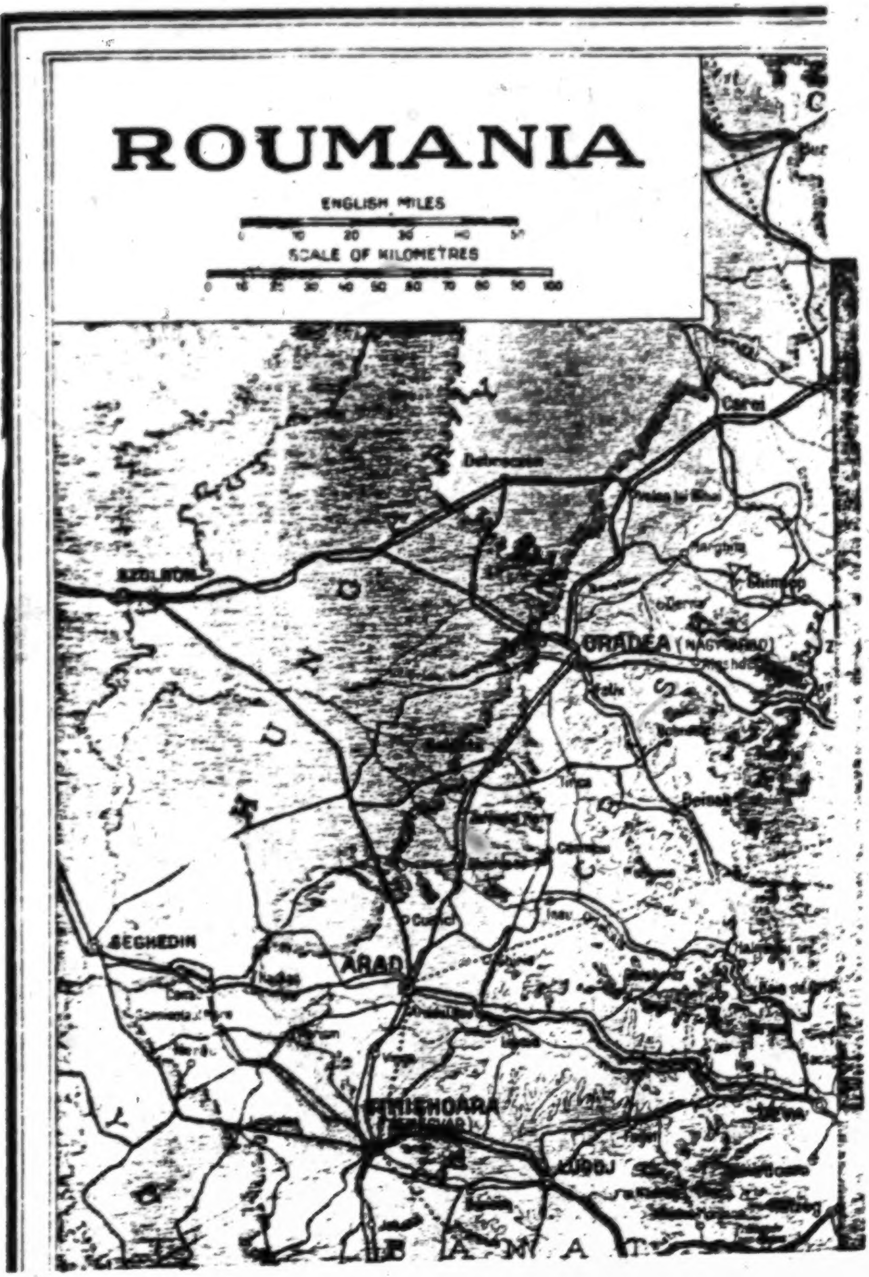
ROUMANIA
ENGLISH MILES
0 10 20 30 40 50
SCALE OF KILOMETRES
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
Carei
Debreczen
ORADEA (NAGYVARAD)
Beiuș
Ineu
SEGHEDIN
ARAD
TIMISOARA
LUGOJ
Deva
B A N A T

[Page 60 a]

a.	b.	c.	d.
e.	f.	g.	h.

pagination of Map.

5: Fleure S-5 (no date)1939 EDl Rumania EDl

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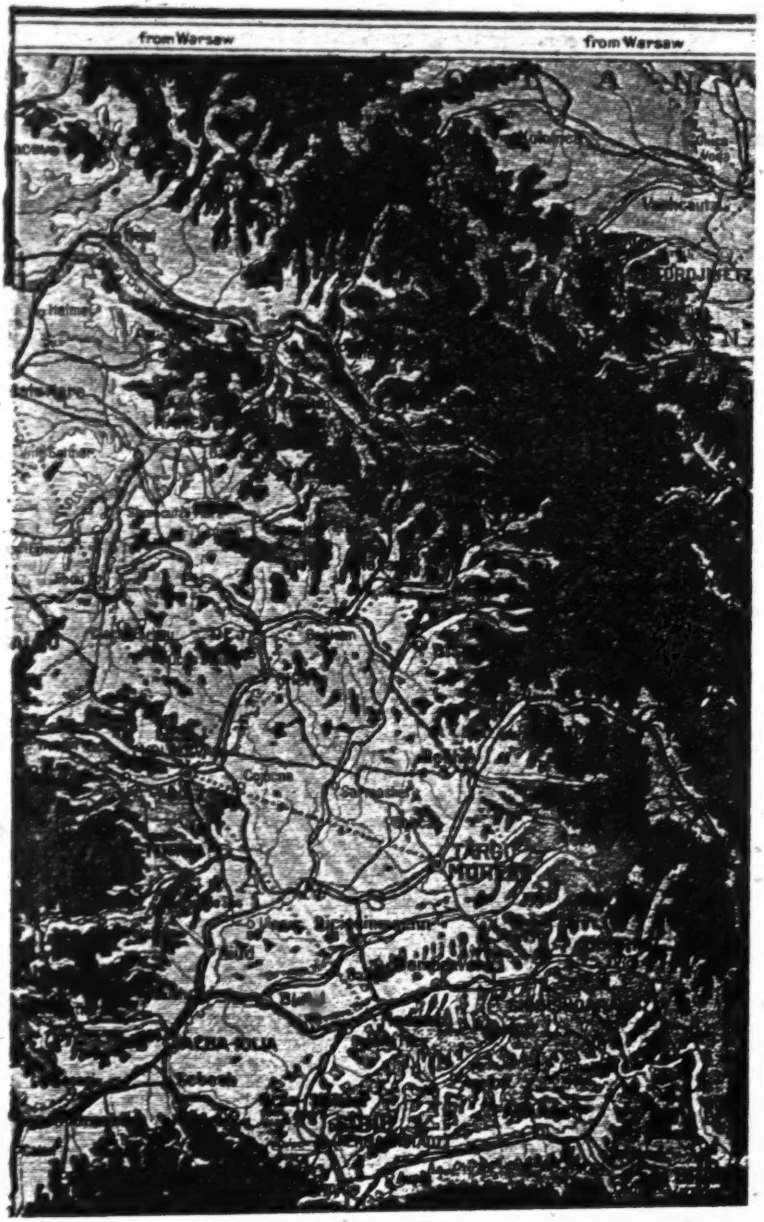

from Warsaw
from Warsaw
Cojocna

[page 60 b]

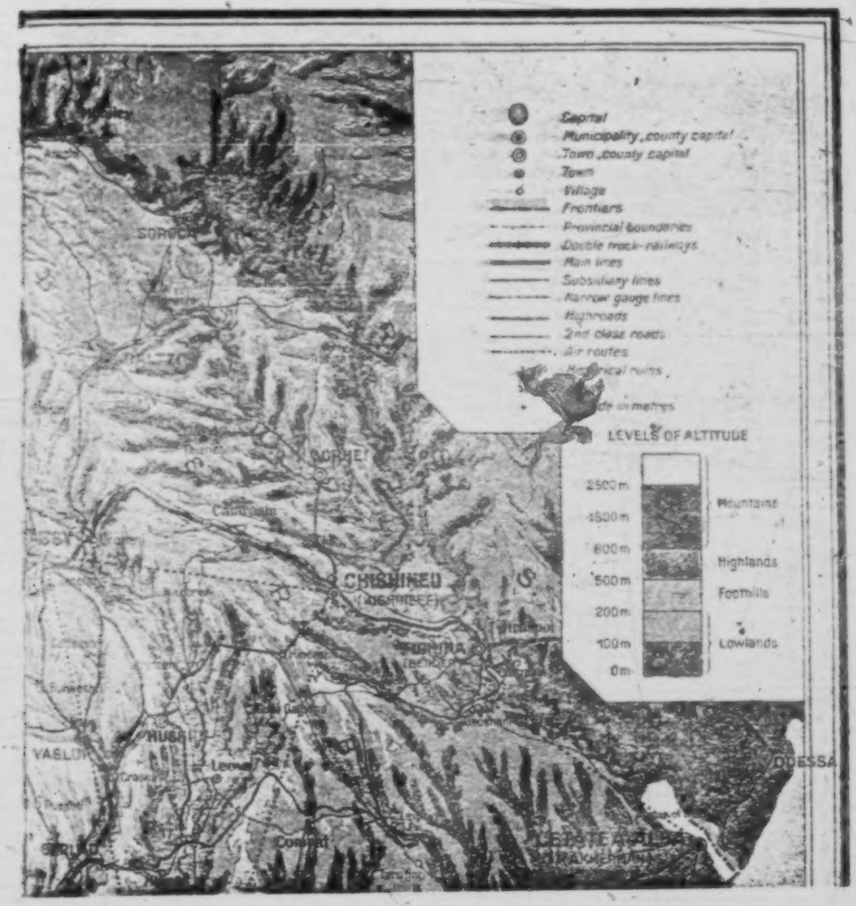
6a Figure S-5 (no date)1939 EDl Rumania EDl

to Kiev
SUCEAVA
FALTICENI
BACAU
VASLUI
Telenesti

[page 60 c]

5: Fleure S-5 (no date) 1939 EDI Rumania EDI

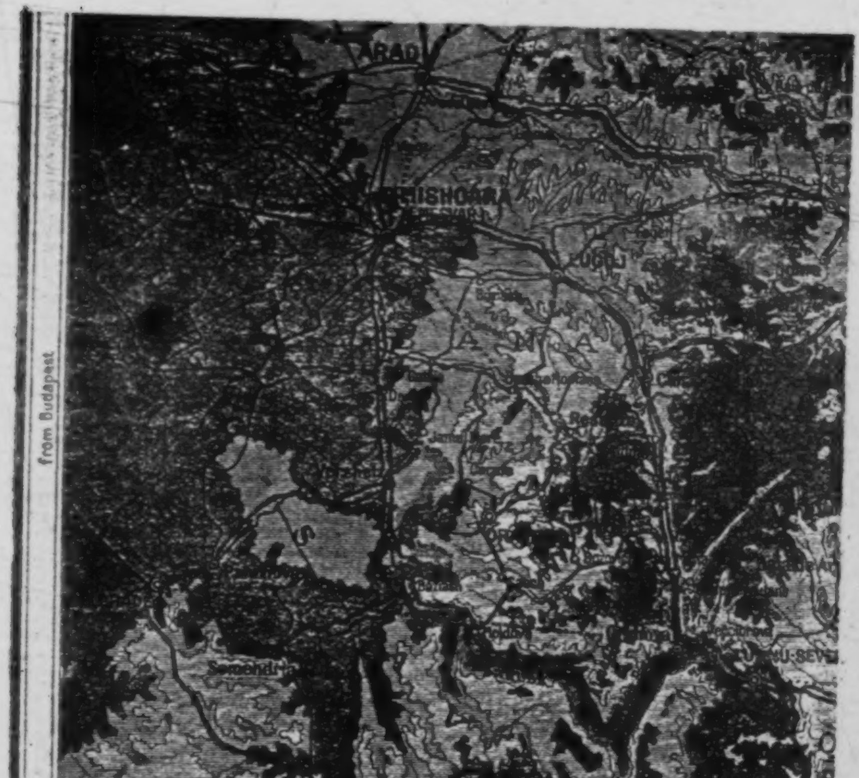
102


Capital
Municipality, county capital
Town, county capital
Town
Village
Frontiers
Provincial boundaries
Double track-railways
Main lines
Subsidiary lines
Narrow gauge lines
Highroads
2nd class roads
Air routes
Historical ruins
LEVELS OF ALTITUDE
2500 m
1500 m
800 m
500 m
200 m
100 m
0 m
Mountains
Highlands
Foothills
Lowlands
SOROCA
ORHEI
CHISHINEU
TIGHINA
(BENDER)
HUSI
VASLUI
Leova
Comrat
ODESSA
CETATEA ALBA
(AKKERMAN)

[page 60 d]

102

5: Fleure S-5 (no date)1939 EDl Rumania EDl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TIMISHOARA
LUGOJ
Semendria
from Budapest
GERMANY
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U.R.S.S.
FRANCE
HUNGARY
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[page 60e]

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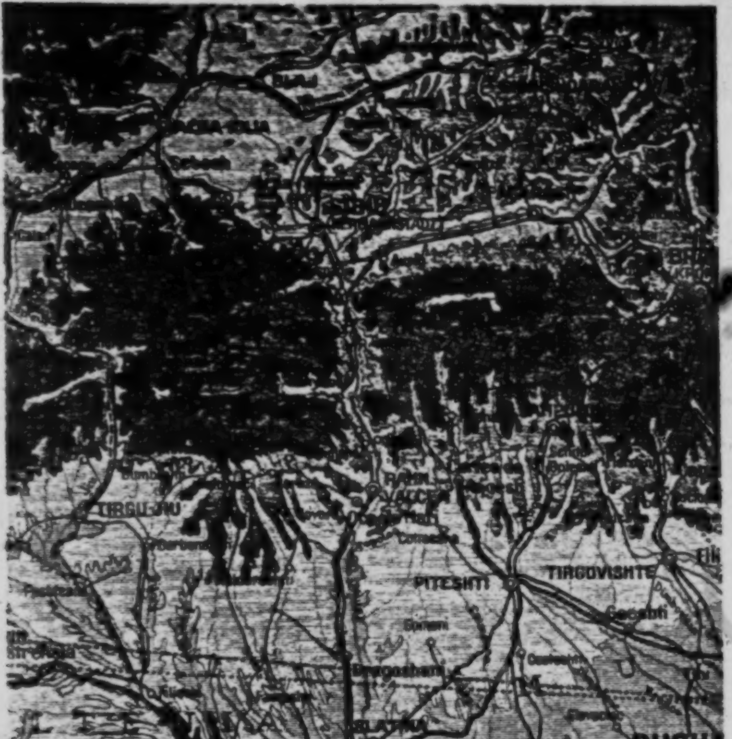
TIRGU JIU
PITESHTI
TIRGOVISHTE
CRAIOVA
SLATINA
BUCHA
CARACAL
TURNU MAGURELE
to Sofia

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[page 60f]

BRAILA
BAZARGIC

LIMITED, LONDON

[page 60 g]

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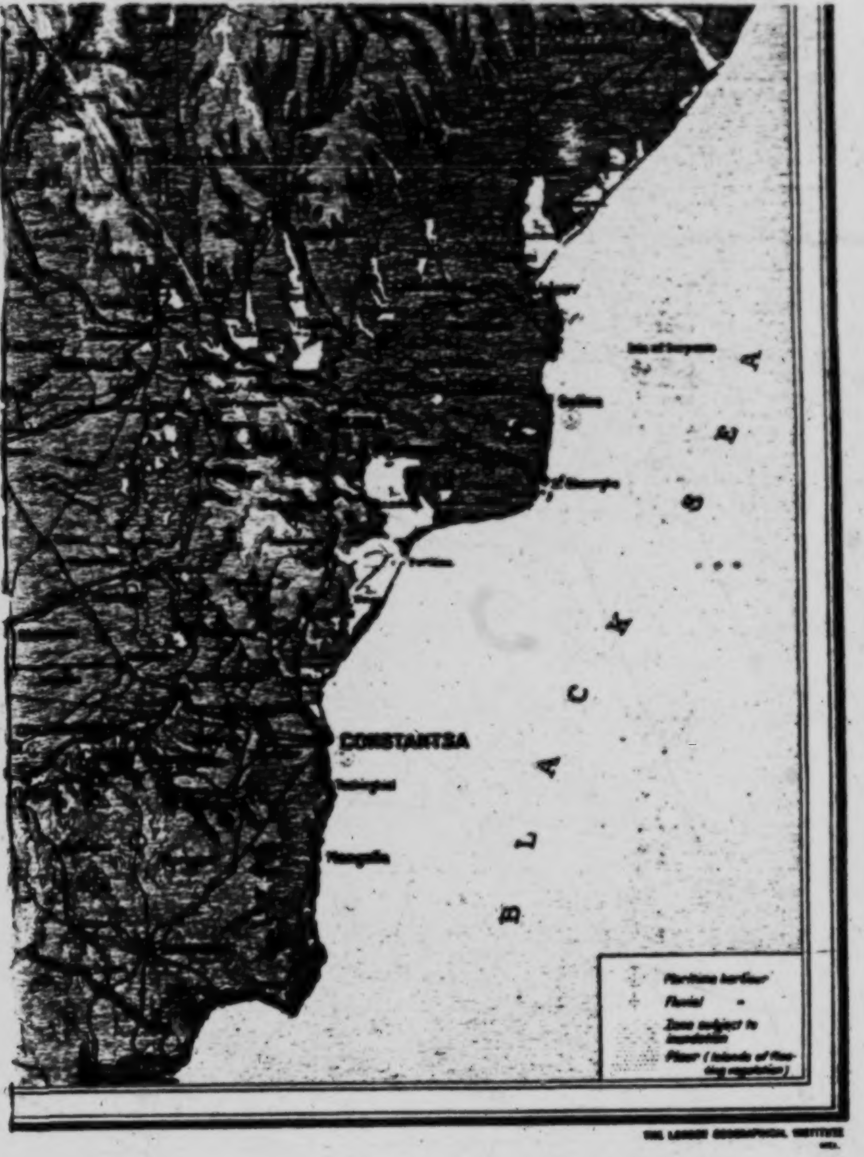
CONSTANTSA
BLACK SEA
Maritime harbour
Fluvial
Zone subject to inundation
Plaur (islands of floating vegetation)

GEOGRAPHICAL INSTITUTE LTD.

[page 60 h]

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

000

RUMANIA

ITS HISTORY, POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

BY

GEORGE CLENTON LOGIO

> " Buna ţara, rea tocmeala,
> Hât'o'n cour de randoneala."
> —*A Rumanian Proverb.*
>
> " A good country, badly run,
> Don't get entangled, it's no fun."

MANCHESTER
SHERRATT & HUGHES
1932

Title page

NOTES ON PRONUNCIATION

The letters of the Rumanian alphabet have generally the same value as in French, with the following exceptions:

ă and î are pronounced as *u* in *but*
u is pronounced as *oo* in *good*
ş ,, *sh*
ţ ,, *ts*
c ,, *k* when placed before the vowels *a*, *o*, and *u*, and as *ts* before *e* and *i*.

The compound vowel *au* is pronounced as *ow* in *how*.

The definite article *ul* is always placed after masculine substantives.

The Rumanians, the same as the Latin tribe of Samnites, use a 'p' where the Romans used a 'q.'

The unit of currency is the *leu*, plural *lei*.

As place-names occasionally differ in Rumanian from the form which so far has been familiar in English, a table containing the most important ones is given below:

English	*Rumanian*
Akermann	Cetatea Alba
Bender	Tighina
Czernowitz	Cernauţi
Dniester	Nistru
Hermannstadt	Sibiu
Grosswardein	Oradea Mare
Karlsburg	Alba Julia
Khotin	Hotin
Kishineff	Chişinau
Kronstadt	Braşov
Mures	Maroş
Segesvar	Sighişoara
Temesvar	Temişoara
Theiss	Tisa

000

CONTENTS

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION:

(*a*) Origin of the Rumanians 1
(*b*) From the Formation of the Danubian Principalities to 1914 13
(*c*) Rumania during the World War 22
(*d*) The Peace Negotiations 25
(*e*) The Post-War Period 32

POLITICS:

(*a*) Political Parties 53
(*b*) Ethnic Minorities and their Grievances 64
(*c*) Inner Glimpses of the Administration 83
(*d*) The Electoral Law 94
(*e*) Mistakes and Muddles 96

ECONOMICS:

(*a*) Geographic and Ethnographic Notes 106
(*b*) Commercial Morality 111
(*c*) The Economic Situation following the War 121
(*d*) Rumania's Economic Policy 124
(*e*) State Finances 133
(*f*) The Budget, National Revenue, and Public Debt 138
(*g*) Trade 150
(*h*) Agriculture 159
(*i*) Banking 177
(*j*) Industry 185
(*k*) Oil and Mining Industries 185
(*l*) Railways and Communications 190

INDEX 203

ORIGIN OF THE RUMANIANS.

175 The Dacians or Getae, who are regarded as the forefathers of the present-day Rumanians, were one of the numerous Thracian tribes, that together with the Illyrians, occupied the extensive lands lying between the Black, Aegean and Adriatic seas, and stretching northwards to the confines of the Russian steppes. Their presence in the Danubian basin as far back as 1400 B.C. has been confirmed by the researches of the late Professor V. Părvan. In his book, "Dacia," as well as in his latest book "Getica," he shows that the Dacians were in occupation of Transylvania at so early a period as 1500 B.C. and that they had evolved an original art of their own, as may be inferred from the large number of gold ornaments which had been found.

By 700 B.C. they began to be influenced by Greek civilization through the Scythians who invaded the country, and whose rulers were almost completely Hellenized. The influence of the Greek towns on the Black Sea coast likewise contributed in bringing Dacia into the Greek orbit somewhere about the year 300 B.C. The Dacians or Getae occupied a very extensive territory; objects of art attributed to them have been found as far apart as Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and even in certain parts of Asia Minor, according to the testimony of Professor E. Pittard of Geneva ("La Roumanie," page 28). Excavations, conducted at numerous localities in Rumania have brought to light objects which testify that the Dacians or Getae had attained ~~to a~~ high degree of civilization, and this is further corroborated by the fact that they were able to oppose a determined and prolonged resistance to the Romans. Even before the appearance of the Roman armies in the Balkans, numerous Latin immigrants had already preceded them. The decline of agriculture in the Italian Peninsula, due to the importa-

175 tion of cereals from the African colonies, and to the employ of slaves on the large estates, had compelled large numbers of Latin farmers to give up their lands on which they could no longer live, and to seek new homesteads across the Adriatic and in southern Gaul. The immigrants seem to have succeeded in imparting a Latin character to the country, and to have imposed their language on the Thracians. Latin settlements, such as the town of Drobeta, or Drubetis, Ratiaria, Oescus and Novae on the Danube arose. Their influence slowly permeated the region and made itself felt even north of the Danube. According to Professor Parvăn : " By Vespasian's time the veterans and the Roman civilians settled in the Danubian provinces as far as the Black Sea are legion . . . Like Gaul during the same period, Dacia must have been full of *italici negotiandi causa consistentes* . . . A statistical review of the hoards found in Dacia shows that the south-eastern parts of the country were covered, in the main, by Greek merchants, while the Romans spread to the west and to the north. From the first century B.C., however, Roman penetration was at once so powerful and so general that *denarii* of the republic became quite frequent in Wallachia and even in Moldavia" ("Dacia," pages 151 and 139). And this diffusion of Roman influence was so persistent that Professor Părvan believes that part of Wallachia must have formed part of the Roman Empire even prior to Trajan's campaign. " It seems that about A.D. 6 that a broad strip of territory north of the river was then incorporated into the Empire as a sort of extended bridgehead to face Ratiaria, Oescus and Novae." "Dacia," page 180.) The latinization of the Thracians was so complete and thorough that this latinized population subsisted long after the irruptions of the Slavs in the Balkan peninsula. When the latter were conquered by the Bulgarians, the latinized remnants of the population were yet so numerous and powerful that they managed to impose, during the eight century, two rulers from amongst their midst, in the persons of Sabinus and Paganus, as heads of the newly-established Bulgarian Empire. Though this is rigorously denied by the Bulgarian historians, who aver that these names had been wrongly

transcribed by Byzantine writers, the fact that after the lapse of yet another four centuries, the Bulgarians, who had then been subjected by the Byzantines, only recovered their independence through the intervention and under the leadership of this latinized population, seems to fully confirm Professor Iorga's contention that the Bulgarian "Tsars" Sabinus and Paganus were of Latin extraction.

There are even further reasons for assuming this to be so, because Sabinus followed a pro-Byzantine policy that was strongly resented by the more warlike section of his subjects, those of Bulgarian extraction, who finally overthrew him.

When the Romans had occupied the Balkan peninsula, they found in the Dacians living in the region of the Carpathians and in the lands to the north of the Danube, warlike and restless neighbours, who by their persistent incursions delayed and hampered the work of colonization. Under their king Decebalus, the Dacians in the year 86 A.D. crossed the Danube, defeated the Roman garrisons, and threatened to overrun the whole province of Mysia. The Emperor Domitian himself had to head an army in order to drive out the invaders, and though he pursued the Dacians across the Danube, and followed them to their mountain strongholds in Translyvania, he was unable to subdue them. Soon after his withdrawal, the Dacians renewed their raids, until finally the successor of Domitian, Trajan, decided to put a stop to their annoying tactics. In the course of two arduous campaigns between the years 98 and 106 A.D., the whole of Dacia was occupied and became a Roman province.

Trajan's column in Rome is a striking chronicle of the difficulties encountered in the course of the two campaigns, and forms a vivid commentary on its chief episodes, while the vestiges of the stone bridge across the Danube near the Serbian town of Kladovo, which was then erected and over which Trajan's soldiers had marched to the conquest of Dacia, may be cited as a testimony of the seriousness and thoroughness with which the expeditions had been organized. A considerable colonization by Latin settlers, reinforced intensively by veterans of the Legions—(these

175 must have been extremely numerous since the Rumanians have derived their word 'batran' = old, from 'veteranus') —followed upon the Roman conquest. Though according to Eutropius (Book VIII, chap. VI)—

> "*Trajanus victa Dacia, ex toto orbe Romano infinitas eo copias hominum transtulerat, ad agros et urbes colendas,*" "this infinite host of people" may not have

been all of Latin stock, yet their common tongue and dominating culture were certainly Latin. So that if the Rumanian claims of continuity of racial descent from the Romans may seem to be exaggerated, on the other hand it must be admitted that they possess a sure and legitimate basis in claiming continuity of tradition and language from the days of the Roman colony of Dacia.

Vestiges of Roman towns such as those of Ulpia Trajana, Micia, Porolissum, Romula, Apulum, Napoca, and Potaissum, testify to the importance of these settlements, while numerous ruins of roads, temples, palaces and baths, show that an era of prosperity ensued which merited the epithet of "Dacia felix," ascribed to the colony on Roman medals. From the fusion of Dacians with Latin settlers arose the ancestors of the Rumanians, who to this day continue to cherish living memories of the Roman connection in the spoken word they use, and in the name they proudly carry.

The appellations of Wallachs and Wallachia, conferred at times on the Rumanian people and the land they inhabit, seem to have a striking similarity to the term "Wealas" by which Anglo-Saxons in England designated the Romano-Britons. It may be casually remarked that the Anglo-Saxons called the Romans of Gaul, "Galwealas," and the Byzantine Empire, "weala ric." That "wealas" was equivalent to the epithet 'Roman' is also apparent from Aelfric's glossary in which "*jus quiritium*" figures as "Weala sunder riht." So that the name "Wallach" may well constitute yet another proof of the Latin ancestry of the Rumanians, since they seem to have elicited this appellation by Teutonic and Slav tribes who used this term of "Wealas" or "Wallachs" as a generic designation of Latin-speaking peoples. One may yet find further evidence in support of this contention in the fact that various kindred groups of Latinized Thracians who survived the barbarian invasions in the Balkan peninsula, were all designated by similar terms, namely:—Wallach, Kutso-Wallach, Mauro-Wallach, etc.

There is a certain parallelism in the Roman conquests of Britain and of Dacia, for both constituted the most outlying European provinces of the Roman empire, and nevertheless remained to the last amongst the most loyal and attached to the Roman tradition.

If the spread of the Latin language after the conquest was rapid in Britain, since we find the poet Martial boasting that "*dicitur et nostros cantare Britannia versus,*" it seems that the Latinization of the Dacians and Thracians must have progressed at an equally rapid pace; for when the Romans proceeded to plant settlements of latinized races in Britain, we find amongst others, those of Amboglanna (Birdoswald) and Gabrosentis (Drumburgh), both near Hadrian's wall, the first composed of Dacians, and the second of Thracians; while further south we find two other settlements of the latter at Wroxester and at Cirencester. These settlements were not exclusively composed of military in temporary occupation, but had a permanent character, as may be deduced from the inscriptions on altars and tombs which show that these settlers had remained in the same place from a very early period.

In fact, numerous stone effigies of the so-called Thracian horseman have been found all over Britain, which would prove that the contingent of Thracians who settled in Britain was considerable. The withdrawal of the Roman Legions from Dacia in A.D. 271, was in no way followed by a mass exodus of the latinized population, and the situation must have resembled that of Britain in 407 on the same occurrence. As the Roman Britons were able to maintain themselves politically unassisted until 582, when they were overwhelmed in the battle of Deorham, though, even this disaster does not seem to imply that every vestige of Roman influence and culture was extirpated; so, with most of the Latinized Dacians who remained after the departure of the Roman troops and functionaries from

175 Dacia. They were able to preserve a certain vague relation with the Empire, seeking refuge in the mountain fastnesses of the Carpathians whenever the tide of foreign invasions ran high, and returning again to the plains when the ebb set in. The plain country bordering on the Danube, and especially its eastern portion was on the main road of invasions, and must have always been unsafe for settlement. Even when Rumania had secured her independence, this region was almost a desert, and it was at a later period that it was colonized gradually. The Wallachian plain was very sparsely inhabited early in the nineteenth century, while its eastern part, the Baragan, was only colonized after 1860.

The main body of the nation, established in the highlands of Transylvania, Maramureş, and Bucovina, did not have to suffer overmuch from babarian invasions. Slavs and other barbarian tribes overran the country, but the narrowness of its cultivable area did not sufficiently attract the invaders who moved on southwards and crossed the Danube, lured on by the glamour of the rich lands of the Eastern Roman Empire. Small bands of Slavs probably strayed out of their way, and lost themselves in the maze of the mountainous valleys, to be merged finally in the dominating nationality, or have remained in isolated groups, undisturbed and stagnant as the backwater of a stream. Even to-day one comes suddenly on descendants of these invaders of old who may be recognized by their more primitive traits from their more comely Rumanian neighbours.

That the inhabitants of the mountainous regions are the real descendants of the old Daco-Roman population is confirmed by Prof. E. Pittard in his "Roumanie" (p. 33): "The mountaineers are more decidedly brachycephalous than the inhabitants of the plains. They are of higher stature——this type represents the real aboriginal Rumanian type."

The Latinized Dacians who remained behind after the departure of the Roman Legions must have been in preponderating strength since they seem to have exerted a strong civilizing influence on the Goths, if we are to judge from the writings of Gibbon, who rather heedlessly bestows on them the epithet "degenerate" which they hardly seem to deserve since they were able to curb the fury of the Goths. Nor is there any proof which would justify his imputation of their having renounced their allegiance to Rome. In his "Decline and Fall" (Vol. I, chap XI, p. 226) writing on the relinquishment of Dacia by the Emperor Aurelian, Gibbon states:—"the old country of that name retained, however, a considerable number of its inhabitants who dreaded exile more than a Gothic master. These degenerate Romans continued to serve the empire whose allegiance they had renounced, by introducing among their conquerors the first notions of agriculture, the useful arts, and the conveniences of civilized life. An intercourse of commerce and language was gradually established between the opposite banks of the Danube, and after Dacia became an independent state it often proved the firmest barrier of the empire against the invasions of the savages of the North. A sense of interest attached these more settled barbarians to the alliance of Rome, and a permanent interest very frequently ripens into sincere and useful friendship." The Emperor Constantine, in 330, undertook a campaign in Dacia, at the time overrun by the Goths, and assumed the title of "Restorer of Dacia." The restoration, though brief in the political sense, was not altogether of an ephemeral character however, for it is recorded that the Emperor Justin, himself a Dacian by race, adopted towards the end of his reign his nephew Justinian as his successor, and according to Gibbon (Decline and Fall, Vol. III, p. 36) "drew him from the rustic solitude of Dacia to have him educated (520-527) at Constantinople." . . . This would indicate that the state of Dacia was very far from being disturbed, and was considered as a by no means unfit place for the residence of even such an ambitious and talented youth as the then heir to the Empire.

In Justinian's reign an expedition was sent across the Danube against the Gepidae who had invaded Dacia. Fortresses along the Danube were reconstructed and enlarged and new ones were built with an eye to the protection

175 of Dacia. In the words of Gibbon (Decline and Fall, Vol. III, p.67) "several military stations affected to spread beyond the Danube the pride of the Roman name." So that it seems more than likely that part at least of the Latinized population was able to hold its own and to safeguard its individuality and language in spite of the odds it had to contend against, though the towns must have probably succumbed.

Even as late as the end of the seventh century it is recorded that when the Byzantine Emperor Mauritius undertook a campaign against the Slavs and Avars across the Danube, he still found the natives of Dacia speaking a Latin vernacular. The reappearance of a Byzantine fleet on the Danube would prove that the connection between Dacia and the Empire had not been entirely severed, and that at any rate commercial relations had continued. The extensive salt mines of Rumania were greatly prized by the Romans, and it is possible that they were repeatedly occupied and exploited by them; and though there was no stable administration throughout Dacia, yet the most valuable parts of the country may have been held by a sprinkling of fortified outposts.

With the creation of the Bulgarian Empire, followed by the advent and settlement of the Cumanians in the eastern part of present Rumania, a barrier was constituted against further barbarian irruptions from the East. The Bulgarians, and subsequently the Cumanians, by extending a kind of vague sovereignty over the lands to the north of the Danube seem to have conferred for some centuries an era of relative stability and peace, which permitted the Rumanians, or Wallachs, as they were then called, to attain to a comparative prosperity which necessarily preceded the creation of organized communities from amongst their midst. The recent findings of the Hungarian historian, Dr Geza Feher, would tend to show that the ancestors of the Bulgarians at the time they invaded Rumania and Bulgaria were far from being a wild nomadic people, but that on the contrary they had attained to a certain degree of civilization which was in the main original. The remnants of their fortifications in Bessarabia would prove that they were in effective occupation of that region, and that they must have successfully withstood for a long period any attempt by other tribes to move towards the Danube. Dr Feher goes even so far as to opine that the ancestors of the Hungarians derived the elements of civilization from these "Proto-Bulgarians," as he calls them.

According to Byzantine chroniclers, Bulgarian suzerainty during the eight and nine centuries extended as far north and west as to include parts of Transylvania. Thus the Bulgarian Khan or "Tsar" Krum is mentioned as having removed the prisoners taken in his Thracian campaigns to "Bulgaria across the Danube." In this respect it would be pertinent to refer to Prof. S. Runciman who asserts that Krum reigned over the Bulgarians of Pannonia prior to becoming the ruler of the Balkan Bulgarians. "How it happened we cannot tell. Probably the Balkan Bulgarians had always kept in touch with their cousins. Since Asperuch's day the Khan of Plisca (the first capital of Bulgaria) had controlled the plains of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the Pannonian Bulgars in Transylvania were not far off; only the Carpathians divided them." (History of the First Bulgarian Empire, p. 51).

The region to the east of the river Theiss is known to have remained for some time under the sway of the Bulgarians. Thus Prof. E. Sayous in his "Histoire Générale des Hongrois" affirms that when the Magyars at the end of the 9th century first invaded Hungary under their leader Arpad, they found the country to the east of the Theiss and Transylvania, in possession of Bulgarians, either alone, or mixed with Wallachs. The country was ruled over by four distinct Bulgarian Kings who were subjected by the Magyars in the 11th century.

This Bulgarian overlordship of Rumania is contested by some Rumanian historians though others admit it. Thus Professor Bogdan, in his book "Romînî şi Bulgari" affirms that between 680 and 1018 the Bulgarians exerted a cultural influence on the Rumanians, who adopted from them their religious and political institutions as well as the Bulgarian language for diplomatic and church use. The Rumanians had been converted to Christianity before the

175 arrival of the Bulgarians in the Balkan peninsula. An inscription is still to be found at Cluj which proves that a branch of the Christian church existed there under Roman domination.

A Latin episcopate had been founded in 535 at Ochrida (Prima Justiniana) for all Illyricum, including lands south of the Danube, as well as Dacia, and it was after the Bulgarians had been converted to Christianity at about 866 that the Rumanians adopted the Bulgaro-Slavonic liturgy for their church. Though Professor Bogdan believes that Bulgarian influence ceased with the fall of the first Bulgarian Empire in 1018, and that subsequently only the results of this Bulgarian influence made itself felt, this seems hardly likely. On the contrary, Bulgarian influence must have been further intensified owing to the migration into Rumania of Bulgarian dignitaries and refugees who at this time sought to escape from the Byzantines.

Professor Bogdan in his work "Luptele Rominilor cu Turcii pana la Mihai Viteazu" states that the Rumanians on the north and south banks of the Danube, overwhelmed by the successive invasions of Goths, Huns, Bulgars, Avars and Slavs, sought refuge in the mountainous valleys, and there, under the authority of the Bulgarians, formed the basis of their future organizations in principalities and duchies. When the Hungarians made their appearance these small states already existed and fell gradually under their rule. Professor P. Constantinescu of Jassi seems to share the same views as to the influence exerted by Bulgaria. In a very interesting booklet entitled "Criptographia si istoria Românească," published in 1925, M. Em. Grigoras adduces certain facts which would tend to prove that by the year 1111 the district of Oltenia formed an independent state under the sceptre of a so-called Cosnila Assen, who may well have been a relative of the Assenides of Bulgaria, since it is well established that the founders of that dynasty were very closely connected with the populations of the north bank of the Danube and only succeeded in freeing Bulgaria from the Byzantine mastery in 1186, after receiving substantial help from across the Danube.

It is possible that following on the subjection of the first

Bulgarian empire, the Byzantines may have extended their domination even beyond the Danube, so that the newly formed duchies and principalities acknowledged their suzerainty, and even co-operated with them against an enemy that threatened the security of both. We thus find the Byzantine historian Cinamus, in his narrative of Manuel Comnenus' campaign in 1152–4 against Hungary, stating that the Emperor's army was joined by many Wallachians, to whose Latin origin he alludes. The close co-operation and understanding which obtained among the Wallachians and Bulgarians, and at a later period the Cumanians, is illustrated by the events which led to the restoration of the second Bulgarian Empire in 1186. The revolt was led by the brothers Peter and Assen of Wallach lineage, supported mainly by Wallachs living on the right bank of the Danube, throughout Mysia, and as far south as the Pindus. At first the movement was not successful, and the leaders had to retire to the north of the Danube in order to solicit the help of the kindred populations living there. It was only after summoning them and the Cumanians to their assistance that they succeeded in defeating the Byzantines and securing their independence. As, further, the new Bulgarian rulers assumed the title of "rex Bulgariae et Blachiae," and the bishop of Tirnovo (the then capital of Bulgaria) that of "primus Bulgarorum et Blachorum," one may surmise that there was a very close collaboration between the two peoples. Nikita Akominat, whose writings form the main source of documentation for this period, distinctly indicates that Mysia was peopled mainly by Wallachs, and that the Bulgarians were mostly in Macedonia. What the Byzantines at the time seemed to dread most was the possibility that the Wallachians might unite with the Bulgarians. (Nic. Honiatae, Historia ex recensione Im Bekker Bonnae 1835, p. 488–489).

Prof. Onciul in his "Originele Principatelor Romane," also lays stress on the close co-operation between Bulgarians and Wallachs during this period, and ascribes the weakening of the Wallach element in the regions to the south of the Danube to the relative safety that ensued with the rise of the Bulgarian Empire, which event encouraged

175 many Wallachs to return to their homeland to the north of the Danube.

During the eleventh century the Hungarians engaged in a policy of steady expansion to the east, and came into collision with the Wallachs. It is through Hungarian sources that we first hear of Wallacho-Bulgarian principalities existing on the eastern confines of Hungary, in the Banat and Transylvania. The famous Notarius Regis Belae of Hungary refers to Hungarian victories over a Prince Glad, who is designed as "dux Bulgarorum et Blacorum," and relates that the latter's army was composed of Bulgarians, Wallachs and Cumanians. King Bela also, in an epistle addressed to the Pope, complains of incursions by Bulgarians and Cumanians against which for his protection he found himself compelled to settle the Knights Hospitallers of St John on his eastern frontier near the Danube. In 1233 reference is again made to a Hungarian ruler who had been established in the Banat of Severin, whose subjects were "Valachi schismatici."

The subjection of Bulgaria by the Turks in 1394 was followed by a large immigration of Bulgarian nobles and church dignitaries into Rumania, and Bulgarian influence and culture was further strengthened and gave rise to a period of literary and artistic flowering that recalled, according to Prof. Bogdan, the influence exerted by the Greek *émigrés* in Italy after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks. This is in no way surprising, since the Bulgarians being for centuries direct neighbours of the Byzantines, were able to assimilate to a certain extent their civilization and transmit it to the Rumanians who were further away.

177
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177 Numerous manuscripts dating from the 14th to the 17th centuries, mainly compiled in the chancelleries of the various Wallach princes, testify to the deep influence Bulgaria had exerted during this period. The language in use was not uniform but gradually evolving, which proves that it was not used merely as a standard language, like Latin, but that it was spoken by those who made use of it. This will explain the large admixture of Slav words in the Rumanian tongue, which were derived mainly from

175
197
177

Bulgarian sources. The toponymy also of Rumania reveals a great number of names of Slavo-Bulgarian and Cumanian origin, which can only be explained by the former presence in large numbers of these two peoples in Rumania. Prof. Xenopol, in his "Istoria Romanilor," vol 1, p.71, dilating on the Slavo-Bulgarian toponymy extant in Rumania, expresses the belief that the mere official use of the Slavo-Bulgarian language is not sufficient to explain the adoption of geographical terms in this language, and that their presence must be ascribed to a "connection between people and people." An examination of D. Francescu's "Dictionaru Topograficu şi statistico al Romaniei" (1872) and Dr L. Colescu's "Dictionarul statistic al Romaniei (1914/5) would reveal an astounding number of such names. As regards the nomenclature derived from Cumanian sources, we have, Coman, Comana, Comanae, Comania, (thrice) Comanianca, Comani (twice), Comanița, and Comanesti (six times). Similar names are met with in Bulgaria and Macedonia (i.e. Kumanovo) and if we recollect that the Cumanians gave a royal dynasty, that of the Terters, to Bulgaria, it will be understood that this now lost people had exerted a wide-spread influence in the Balkan peninsula.

FROM THE FORMATION OF THE DANUBIAN PRINCIPALITIES TO 1914.

175

The policy of easterly expansion pursued by the Hungarians forced the first Rumanian political communities which had developed in the relative security of Transylvania to retreat before the continuous pressure exerted by the Hungarians. Many of the Rumanian nobility, however, seem to have passed over to the conqueror in order to safeguard their wealth and privileges at the price of Magyarization, as did the Serbian aristocracy in Bosnia which accepted the faith of their Turkish conquerors so that they might retain their lands. These Magyarized Rumanians of Transylvania gave to Hungary her most heroic figure, that of John Hunyady, as well as one of her great kings, Matthias Corvinus, son of the former.

RUMANIA

175 Towards the end of the thirteenth century we find these Rumanian communities abandoning Transylvania and emerging from the defiles of the Carpathians to settle to the south and east of these mountains, where they appear as the two sister principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia extending gradually their sway to the Danube and the Black Sea.

They had hardly consolidated their rule before the Turks appeared on the Danube, and Wallachia was the first to become tributary to the Sultan in 1391. The greater part of the succeeding five centuries was spent in the effort to maintain a precarious semi-independence. The subjection of Wallachia and Moldavia to the Turks differed essentially however from the submission of the other Balkan states to the same rule. In exchange for the tribute to the Sultans, the native aristocracy remained undisturbed, and continued to enjoy its privileges, one being the right of electing the ruling prince, so that the Rumanian people could continue to develop, having never experienced the abject servitude endured by Bulgaria, Greece or Serbia. The relatively privileged position of the Rumanians may be gauged by the fact that Moslems were not allowed to settle in the principalities nor to erect mosques to the north of the Danube. The history of the next five hundred years is not edifying, for it abounds in sordid intestine rivalries and intrigues, alternating with incursions by Hungarians and Poles. The fleeting appearance of outstanding personalities such as that of Stephen the Great, prince of Moldavia, threw occasionally a brief glimmer on the prevailing darkness. He inflicted a signal defeat on the Turks on the river Racova in 1475, an event that rendered him a conspicuous champion of Christianity, winning for him the praise and benediction of Pope Sixtus IV. It may be said that he was the main factor that brought to a stop the raid of Mohamed II against Central Europe. He endeavoured to create an alliance of Christian Powers to continue the war of liberation against the Turks, but instead of meeting with aid he had to face the hostility of the Poles, who even invaded Moldavia. At the end of his reign, disgusted by the insincerity of his Christian neighbours, Stephen the Great finally came to terms with the Turks, and acknowledged their suzerainty in order to safeguard Moldavia from even greater misfortunes.

Another heroic figure is that of Michael the Brave, who for the brief period of a few years battled incessantly against Turks, Hungarians and Poles, and succeeded in enfranchising and uniting all the Rumanian territories. His exploits fired the imagination of Bulgarians, Greeks and Serbians, all of whom hailed in him the predestined liberator of the Balkan Christians; premature hopes that were to vanish at his untimely assassination in 1601. His military feats are somewhat tarnished by the fact that he introduced serfdom in Rumania, rendering thereby the lot of the hard pressed peasantry even more grievous than before. On his disappearance the Turks further strengthened their hold on the country, and exerted their rule almost without restraint. It may be incidentally noted that Michael the Brave's accession to the dignity of prince was facilitated through the support of Barton, the English Ambassador at Constantinople, though the latter's intercession was not entirely disinterested. The next instance we hear of reference to England relates to a commercial treaty concluded between Peter V of Moldavia, and Queen Elizabeth in 1588.

Two other princes of mark, Matthew Basarab and Basil Lupu, reigned almost simultaneously about the middle of the seventeenth century over Wallachia and Moldavia, and distinguished themselves as legislators and protectors of literature. The coincidence of their rule was most unfortunate, as they wasted their mutual abilities in underhand plots and intrigues to oust each other from their respective territories.

By 1716, the Turks became so predominant in power that they forbade the future election of native princes, finding them too prone to intrigue with the neighbouring Christian powers, and henceforth they appointed Greek Phanariots from amongst their Constantinople subjects to rule over the two principalities. The imposition of alien rulers left a most deplorable impress on the political life of

175 the country, owing to their addiction to corruption and rapacity. The thrones of the two principalities were put up to auction to the highest bidder, and as the posts, though lucrative, were precarious, their holders sought to recover the money spent in their acquisition by exactions from the unfortunative natives who were literally fleeced in order to satisfy the grasping covetousness of the rulers palmed upon them. As the Turks found that the conferring of these offices was a very profitable business they proceeded to accelerate the rate at which they were filled, until every two or three years new appointments were made. If the princes had come by themselves the evil would have been circumscribed; unfortunately, they were followed by retinues of hungry and greedy retainers who coveted and secured all the ecclesiastical and administrative offices. They acted like veritable harpies, bleeding the country white, and it is not surprising that they should have imparted to the Rumanians, by nature most kindly and hospitable, a sense of intense destestation for the foreigner, that found expression in such popular sayings as the following: "Nici o poamă nu-i amara ca strainatatea'n ţara" (There is no bitterer fruit than the foreigner in the land). "Atunci ii face strainul frate, cand a da din piatra lapte, Si straina suriora, Cand a pocni pusca goala." (You will turn the foreigner into a brother when the stone will yield milk, and the foreigner into a sister when the gun will go off unloaded).

The only counterbalancing advantage the Phanariots brought to Rumania was the dissemination of Western and mainly French culture. The Phanariots had all been reared in a centre which for centuries had been impregnated by French ideas, where the French tongue was spoken by all who claimed to have some refinement. France, in Constantinople, had succeeded to the rôle formerly played by the Venetians and Genoese, and her influence both politically and commercially had been paramount for centuries, and was so fertile, at least culturally, that French is still the predominant tongue to-day in the maritine zone of the Near East.

The Phanariot princes used French in their international relations, and were usually accompanied by French secretaries during their stay in the Danubian principalities. Their court receptions were conducted in French, and the native aristocracy came more and more to copy the fashion set them by their rulers. French literature was widely diffused, the youth of the wealthy classes flocked more and more to Paris for their studies, until Rumanian intellectuals became so imbued with French ideas that they began to look on France as their second country. It is regrettable that while slavishly copying the French they did not show more discrimination between good and bad, and failed to assimilate to any great degree those qualities of the French which inspire admiration and respect, but rather tended to copy French superficiality. It may be pleaded in defence of the Rumanians that, owing to their inexperience and naivety, it was natural that they should be impressed by the gloss and tinsel of a civilization rather than by its more solid and austere aspects; all the more so, since being semi-orientals, they would as such be more prone to be struck by what is pompous and ostentatious and to neglect what is more positive and sane. After all, in the social as in the economic field, Gresham's law is always operative—the bad always drives out the good; this is why customs which are worst are those which seem to spread most readily. At any rate such was the strength of French cultural influence in Rumania that the memories of the old Latin connection were completely revived and the sense of her Latinity once more restored after the consciousness of it had been somewhat dimmed by the lengthy connection with Slavo-Bulgarian culture in the middle ages. It is certainly owing to their saturation with French culture that the Rumanians have not been absorbed by the Russians, and for this reason the Phanariots may be pardoned for all the evils they brought in their train, since at the same time they bestowed on Rumania that which safeguarded her most precious possession, the notion of her nationhood. It should be noted, however, that the Phanariots had imparted a particular tone to French culture which they transmitted, which is characteristically Byzantine, and not French, and for this reason it will be vain to search in

175

Rumanian cultural life expressions of that virility and stamina which distinguish the French. The large influx of Greek Phanariots, and their assimilation by the wealthier class of the Rumanian population, resulted in the formation of a distinct group among the people, which, though it constituted the leading class, yet did not possess the essential traits usually the mark of a real nobility. Moral apathy, laxity, inertness . . . these formed, and unfortunately still form, the distinctive traits of this class, and in a sense, differentiate it from the great bulk of the people, which fortunately for itself does possess more virile qualities than its hybrid aristocracy.

The psychical disassociation of the aristocracy from the people is patent, since the former has contributed nothing to the national literature or art, nor to its spiritual development. The aristocratic class has stood haughtily aloof from the masses and even repudiated what kinship there may have been between the two by adopting French for their language, copying servilely French manners and turning their backs provokingly on such native traditions as others would have cherished and revered. The reign of the Phanariots came to a close with the outbreak of the Greek revolution in 1821; the Turks nominating henceforth native princes to the thrones of Wallachia and Moldavia. Their advent was marked by an increased interference of Russia in the affairs of the principalities, until by the treaty of Adrianople (1829) the Tsar virtually assumed the power which the Sultans had hitherto exerted.

During the rule of the Phanariots, the Rumanians suffered other and more serious misfortunes than their depredations. The Turks had countenanced the annexation by Austria of Bucovina in 1775 on the most flimsy of pretences, while in 1812 they ceded Bessarabia to Russia. Owing to the series of wars undertaken by Russia against Turkey, the principalities were repeatedly occupied by Russian troops, who remained in indisputed possession for several years at a time, until the outbreak of the Crimean war, when their place was taken by the Austrians.

The solitary compensation the Rumanians derived from the Russian interventions was the conferring by the latter

175

of a more modern constitution in 1831, known as the "règlement organique," which, though altogether inadequate from the liberal point of view, yet placed the administration on a sounder footing than before. The inspirer of this reform, General Kisseleff, being an enlightened man, would have conferred several privileges on the peasantry whose status was akin to serfdom, but unfortunately he encountered obstinate opposition on the part of the landed aristocracy, who insisted on the maintenance of their feudal privileges and thus proved an obstacle to real reform. At the Congress of Paris (1856) on the close of the Crimean War an attempt was made by the Western Powers to checkmate Russia's expansion policy. She was therefore forced to retrocede the southern part of Bessarabia to Moldavia, and her tutelage over the principalities was abolished. The subject of the union of Wallachia and Moldavia was broached by the Rumanian delegates, and although this proposal met with warm support from France and Italy, and strange to say from Russia also, unfortunately owing to strenuous opposition on the part of England and Austria, the scheme was rejected, though certain concessions to the Rumanian demands were acceded to, amongst others that of the right of permitting Wallachia and Moldavia to assume the title of "United Principalities," a concession that ultimately rendered the attainment of union feasible a few years later, when, thanks to the benevolent attitude of Napoleon III, the two principalities were able to merge into one, a measure that made them better adapted to defend their national integrity.

As it was known that the neighbouring Powers would not countenance such a move, the Rumanians of the two principalities used the subterfuge of electing the same prince in the person of Alexander Cuza, who was finally acknowledged by the Turks, thanks to France's strenuous exertions on behalf of the principalities. His brief reign (1858-1866) forms a landmark in Rumanian history, as it indicates the end of dissensions and intestine rivalries between Wallachia and Moldavia which prepared and maintained that condition of helplessness

175 which had left them at the mercy, first of the Turks, and later of the Russians and Austrians.

Prince Cuza proved a very enlightened and patriotic ruler. Seconded by his able minister Cogalniceanu, he introduced a law making elementary education compulsory and free. He founded the two universities of Bucarest and of Jassy, and improved the status of the peasants, emancipating them from the intolerable burden of their feudal obligations. In order to allot land to the landless peasants, he proceeded to sequestrate monastic properties, and expropriate part of the larger estates belonging to the nobility. By his patronage of the peasantry he brought himself into conflict with the Church and the aristocracy, and as his innovations were counterbalanced by high-handed methods in dealing with his opponents, he displeased even those among his subjects who were more liberal-minded. Finally a conspiracy was hatched and the organizers, breaking one night into the palace, forced him to sign his abdication, and drove him into exile where he died seven years later. It is regrettable that in spite of Prince Cuza's courage in emancipating the peasants, the latter's position became even worse owing to the predominating political influence of the larger landowners, and finally in 1907 a desperate rising occurred, which was suppressed after some 11,000 peasants had been slaughtered.

Some difficulties were raised by interested foreign Powers at the election of Prince Charles of Hohenzollern as Cuza's successor, difficulties which were finally overcome through Napoleon III's friendly attitude. Prince Charles showed himself a sagacious and capable ruler. His early efforts were devoted to the reorganization of the army and the overhauling of the country's finances. The Russo-Turkish war of 1877 left him no choice but to take sides with Russia, as she had intimated that she would force for her army a passage through the principalities. At the siege of Plevna owing to the critical situation of the Russian armies, the Rumanians were at last allowed to intervene effectively in the siege and to secure the capture of the fortress.

Unfortunately Rumania's sacrifices were not fairly requited. At the Congress of Berlin, though Rumania's independence was recognized, she was forced to hand back once more to Russia the southern part of Bessarabia, and was given in exchange the northern part of the Dobrudja. The Rumanians vehemently protested against what was a double spoliation, committed at their expense and that of their neighbours the Bulgarians, to whom the Dobrudja belonged. The Dobrudja, in its then undeveloped condition, could not be any compensation for the loss of southern Bessarabia, and its annexation, as was feared by Prince Charles and his advisers, might have eventually caused the estrangement of Bulgaria. Russia, however, proved unyielding, and Rumania was forced to bow finally before the inevitable.

Prince Charles was proclaimed King on May 22nd, 1881, and to the end of his reign in 1914, devoted himself to the peaceful consolidation of his country, completely transforming Rumania during this period and making her one of the most prosperous and powerful states in the Near East.

The disillusionment caused by Russia's attitude in 1878, and the personal proclivities of King Charles permitted the latter to bind Rumania to the Central Powers, with which he signed a secret defensive treaty in 1883. It did not imply, however, blind allegiance on Rumania's part, since in 1913 her intervention in the second Balkan war was clearly inimical to the interests of Austria.

Her intererence in that fratricidal struggle brought her some territorial accretion in the form of Southern Dobrudja, a territory mainly inhabited by Bulgarians and Turks. Its obtention was made feasible by the astonishing pigheadedness of certain Bulgarian politicians, who refused to make timely and reasonable concessions to Rumania. It proved, however, of very doubtful value since it alienated Bulgaria's sympathy and provoked the latter's attack during the world war which proved the main cause of Rumania's undoing.

It may be incidentally noted that Bulgaria had always cherished the most friendly feelings towards Rumania, and had never resented the annexation of northern Dobrudja which had been forced on Rumania. These sentiments of goodwill had always been reciprocated by the Rumanians who had welcomed the Bulgarians when fleeing from the

Turks, and assisted them to organize and prepare their struggle for independence. Such was the friendliness the Bulgarians displayed towards the Rumanians that on the forced deposition of their first prince Alexander Battenberg, brought about through Russian hostility, Bulgaria's greatest statesman, Stambulov, offered the Bulgarian crown to King Charles, and it is to be deplored that owing to Russia's veto and threat of intervention the offer could not be accepted. For a close co-operation between Rumania and Bulgaria, under the common sceptre of King Charles, would have been tantamount to the creation of a sound bulwark against the underhand schemes and machinations of the Russian and Austrian Empires which were the main cause of all the unrest in the Balkans.

RUMANIA DURING THE GREAT WAR.

The conduct of the foreign policy of Rumania had been considered by King Charles as his special prerogative. His sympathies for the Germans, and his belief in their final victory prompted him to involve Rumania in the war on the side of the Central Powers, all the more so, since he considered himself in honour bound to assist them by the treaty of 1883.

There were other practical reasons which operated in favour of such a policy. The Central Powers occupied a predominant position in Rumania's commerce. Germany, followed by Austria, headed the list of Rumanian exports and imports, the Rumanian state loans had been floated on the Berlin and Vienna stock exchanges, and Rumanian industry had been largely financed by German capital. In spite of these considerations, however, the king failed in his attempt to enlist the support of Rumanian politicians on the side of the Central Powers. Sentimental reasons prevailed. The strong pro-French leanings of the upper classes, and the more popular desire of taking advantage of the struggle in order to free the Rumanians of Transylvania from the intolerable oppression of the Magyars proved decisive.

M. Carp, a former prime-minister, seemed to be the only

175

person of importance who seconded King Charles and openly advocated siding with the Central Powers. In his paper, the "Moldava," he laid stress on the grave danger that a Russian occupation of Constantinople would constitute for Rumania, and advocated a policy that would thrust back Russia from the mouths of the Danube. German propaganda, which had suborned a large number of newspapers, did its utmost to re-awaken the old distrust of Russia, and did not weary of pointing out the precarious situation in which Rumania would find herself after an Entente victory, surrounded as she was on all sides by Slav nations.

The general staff of the army also did not at all approve of the armed intervention of Rumania so long as the Russians had not occupied Bucovina. They insisted on the necessity of the right wing of the Rumanian army being in direct contact with the Russians and Moldavia being thereby protected from a possible direct enemy attack from Bucovina. The shortage of ammunition was a further deterrent to immediate action, and the military must certainly have greatly influenced the attitude of M. Bratianu, the then prime minister, in his policy of procrastination during which he attempted to drive as hard a bargain with the Entente Powers as possible.

King Charles's death in October, 1914, removed a serious obstacle to Rumania's intervention. His nephew and successor, Ferdinand, was more amenable to Entente influences, but the failure of the Dardanelles expedition and the entry of Bulgaria into the war furnished further justification for the pursuit of a policy of expectancy, and it was only in August, 1916, after the Russian government had sent a note to Bucarest threatening to annul the promised territorial acquisitions made by the Entente, and after further assurances had been vouchsafed that the Salonica army would undertake an offensive, and Russian troops would be sent to the Dobrudja to counter a possible Bulgarian attack, that finally, Rumania was coaxed into declaring war.

Military reasons concurred in favour of an attack on Bulgaria; psychological considerations, however, rendered

175 such a plan almost impossible to carry out, so that the Rumanians decided to invade Transylvania. This move was followed by a Bulgarian onslaught on the Dobrudja, most of which fell rapidly in their possession, thus proving once more that the friendship of a neighbouring nation is a more valuable security than the possession of a strategic frontier. These swift and unexpected Bulgarian successes forced the Rumanians to draw upon their army in Transylvania so as to strengthen their defence in what remained of the Dobrudja. At this critical moment the Entente Powers failed to redeem their promises. The Bavarian troops, especially prepared for the invasion of Rumania, and which the Entente had promised to immobilise by simultaneous attacks on the western front, forced the Carpathians in spite of the desperate defence put up by the Rumanians. Almost at the same time the redoubtable von Mackensen, heading a motley army of Germans, Turks and Bulgarians, the latter released owing to the inactivity of the Salonica army, crossed the Danube, thus sealing the fate of Wallachia. The Germans entered Bucarest on Dec. 6th, 1916, the Rumanians withdrawing to Moldavia to rally and reconstruct their forces.

Undaunted by the misfortunes which had befallen them, the Rumanians set to work to reorganize their army, and by the succeeding summer, under the leadership of General Averescu, were able to secure a great victory at Marasti over the Austro-Germans. Unfortunately, the Bolshevik revolution had demoralized the Russian army, and by August, 1917, the Germans were able to draw troops from their eastern front and to concentrate them against the Rumanian positions. A fierce German attack followed but it was beaten off at Marasesti. The bravery of the Rumanians, however, proved of no avail owing to the defection of Russia, and no alternative was left for them but to initiate negotiations. These were conducted at Buftea and resulted in the peace of Bucarest. (May 7th, 1918.)

The clauses of the treaty were most humiliating to Rumania. Those who harp on the harshness of the Versailles treaty would rectify their judgement if they were to take cognizance of the conditions the "victimized" Germans imposed on Rumania. The territorial losses Rumania had 175 to suffer were comparatively light as contrasted with the draconian economic clauses of the treaty, and comprised the cession of the entire Dobrudja, and of a district of 2,920 sq. miles along the mountain passes of the Carpathians. Rumania as a solace, was allowed to annex Bessarabia, which had already been abandoned by Russia and had demanded its union with Rumania in March, 1918. The ratification of the treaty was delayed, however, King Ferdinand anticipating an Entente victory which would liberate Rumania from the onerous clauses the Germans sought to impose on her.

The collapse of the Bulgarian front and the victorious Allied offensive in the west soon justified these hopes. The Rumanians thereupon assumed the offensive on Nov. 9th, 1918, re-occupied Wallachia, re-entered Transylvania which had in December, 1918, proclaimed its union with Rumania, marched into Bucovina, the Rumanians of which province had formed a provisional government on Oct. 27th, 1918, and had invoked the assistance of the Rumanian troops, and by April, 1919, reached the line of the river Theiss. Rumania's definite frontiers, however, were to be traced by the diplomats after protracted and unedifying wranglings in Paris.

RUMANIA AND THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

It is usual to accuse the Rumanians of having evinced at 728 the Peace Conference an intolerance and superciliousness that did not at all accord with the services they had rendered to the Allied cause. The Entente Powers alleged that the Rumanians, having concluded a separate peace with the enemy, had thereby forfeited their rights to the territories which had been originally promised them. Besides, President Wilson had taken up a most determined attitude against all secret treaties, and as Rumania's claims were based on them it is easy to understand that immense difficulties were encountered before a settlement was effected.

RUMANIA

728 The Rumanians might well have retorted that the disaster they had suffered was due mainly to the absence of the assistance the Entente had pledged itself to grant, and that to evoke the case of the peace of Bucarest, which after all had not been ratified by King Ferdinand, was tantamount to making use of a legal flaw in order to avoid moral obligations, an attitude that might be appropriate to the narrow conceptions ruling at a county court, but unworthy of the proceedings of a world areopagus.

Much bitterness was engendered by the arrogance manifested by the delegates of the Great Powers and the arbitrary character of most of their decisions. Thus Rumania was allowed to appoint two delegates to the Conference, while Yugoslavia, with a smaller population, was permitted to send three. Throughout the sittings of the Conference the Rumanian delegates were practically ignored, decisions in matters that interested them were taken over their heads, and injunctions and intimations were transmitted to Bucarest instead of being handed to them, who, after all, were the only competent persons to receive them. Drafts of the treaty with Germany and Austria had been communicated to several journalists while the Rumanian delegation received incomplete summaries, though the conditions imposed on Austria were of vital interest to Rumania. How and for what reasons the Triumvirate, composed of Lloyd George, Clemenceau, and Wilson, adopted such a slighting attitude towards not only Rumania, but also towards our lesser allies, is only explainable on psychological grounds.

They were obviously unfit to exert such limitless powers as had been conferred on them, and their sudden elevation had apparently obscured their intelligence. For otherwise how could they ignore the clauses of the treaty which had been concluded with Rumania in 1916, which provided that " Rumania shall have the same rights as the Allies in the peace preliminaries and negotiations, and also in discussing the issues which shall be laid before the Peace Conference for its deliberations? "

It must be admitted, however, that M. Bratianu, the head of the Rumanian delegation, and acting prime minister, owing to his arbitrary and intolerant disposition, was not a person whose immixture in these difficult negotiations could exert any auspicious influence upon them. The arrogance with which he rejected the Serbian arguments in favour of the revision of the Russo-Rumanian treaty concerning the Banat, which was characteristic of his attitude, will partly explain why he was not in special favour with President Wilson, who was likewise endowed with a rather intolerant disposition. Thus the "Isvestia" of Jan. 19th, 1918, reported that when the Serbian Minister, with the consent of the Russian statesman Milyukov, had approached Bratianu in order to obtain a revision of this treaty, the latter arrogantly replied that he would also ask for the Timok valley across the Danube, which had always formed an integral part of Serbia.

But that which most incensed the Rumanians was the attitude adopted by the Supreme Council on the question of the disposal of the Banat, which had been promised in its entirety to Rumania. Owing to the presence of iron and coal mines in the eastern part of the Banat, a certain group of capitalists who were powerful enough to bring influence to bear on the members of the Supreme Council, came in close contact with Bela Kun, the Hungarian dictator, and secured from him the promise of the bestowal of concessions on their group for the exploitation of these mines, should Hungary be left in possession of the Banat. Thereupon the Supreme Council assumed an attitude which was more than friendly towards Hungary's Bolshevik dictator, and everything was done to thwart the Rumanians from attaining their aim. Though the plan miscarried, owing to the fall of Bela Kun, brought about by Rumania's military intervention, carried out despite the injunctions of the Supreme Council, this intrigue was followed by yet another attempt to set up an independent republic of the Banat, which, owing to its extreme weakness, would have proved very amenable to the will of these international financiers. Then, as if these disgraceful manoeuvres were not enough to inspire disgust at the way the affairs of the Peace Conference were conducted, the Rumanian delegates were pressed to grant industrial concessions to Jewish-American financiers, failing which Rumania was threatened with the loss of America's

728 active support. So cocksure were these gentry of their omnipotence that they even sent representatives to Rumania to earmark in advance whatever enterprises seemed lucrative for them to exploit. It is even averred that finally a note was addressed to the Rumanian delegates enjoining them to grant certain concessions, as otherwise neither diplomatic nor financial help would be forthcoming from the United States.

The spirit of mercantilism which seemed to dominate the decisions taken by the Supreme Council would have sufficed to ruffle the susceptibilities of men of more tolerant disposition than Messrs Bratianu and Mishu. In view of the high stakes at play they did their best to put up with the discourtesies which were showered on them, but when they were prevented from taking part in discussions that affected Rumania directly (thus M. Clemenceau did not hesitate to exclaim in a sitting of the Council to M. Bratianu that the latter was there to listen and not to comment), the Rumanian delegates were obliged to conclude that it consorted better with the maintenance of their dignity to depart, after M. Bratianu had delivered a trenchant attack against the pretensions of the Great Powers to settle the fate of Europe guided uniquely by their own private interests.

These reprehensible altercations go a long way to explain the causal complex of that rabid xenophobia which subsequently inspired the policy of M. Bratianu and his followers. In justice to them it must be conceded that after the treatment meted out to them in Paris they had good reason to eye with grave suspicion any offer of co-operation emanating from western financiers, since at the Peace Conference an attempt had been made to exploit them economically, even blackmail having been employed for the attainment of this object. Nothing has been done to dispel the deplorable impression thus created. On the contrary, the behaviour of their powerful allies at the Spa Conference, where a disproportionally low percentage of reparation payments had been allocated to the Rumanians, could only further confirm their suspicions as to the motives that usually actuate westeners, and this notwithstanding the latters' clever efforts to cloak their mercantilism with a profusion of ethical considerations all professing to aim at the regeneration of the country to which they were to be applied.

M. Bratianu, by the determination and strength of will displayed in his efforts to counter certain decisions taken by the Supreme Council, whose utter ignorance of the prevailing state of affairs in the Near East was more than manifest, rendered unwittingly a signal service to Europe.

Thus it is really incomprehensible that the members of the Supreme Council should have gone so far as to attempt to propitiate that band of adventurers who under the mask of Bolshevism had usurped the government of Hungary, and to have even allowed them to threaten for a time the very existence of Czechoslovakia. So certain was Bela Kun of enjoying the patronage of the Supreme Council that he did not hesitate to launch an attack on the Rumanian army guarding the banks of the Theiss in July, 1919.

Fortunately for Europe the soldiers of the Magyar Soviet Republic were defeated, and the Rumanians, flouting the objurgations and fulminations hurled at them by the Supreme Council sitting in Paris, completed their victory by occupying Budapest within a fortnight, shattering the government of Bela Kun and removing a grave danger to Europe by extirpating this nest of Bolshevism in its midst.

The inconceivable partiality of the Supreme Council for the Magyar Bolsheviks had created such a parlous state of affairs in the East of Europe that had the Rumanians failed to occupy the city of Budapest it is more than likely that the Magyar Bolsheviks would have joined hands with the Russians over the prostrate bodies of Czechoslovakia and Rumania, with the most dire consequences for the fate of our continent.

The Rumanian occupation of Budapest further envenomed their relations with the Supreme Council. Instead of evacuating the city as they were enjoined to do, the Rumanians (having been entirely despoiled by the Austro-Germans, while the latter had occupied Rumania) now attempted to recuperate some of their losses. They therefore refused to depart before they had secured delivery of at least a part of the goods of which they had been despoiled. It was natural for the Rumanians to resent allied intervention

728 in this matter, for at the time that their country was being plundered by the Germans and their allies the Entente had not interposed to protect them. It may be further mentioned that the Rumanians had asked to be allowed to send delegates to Germany to point out to the inter-allied authorities the objects of which they had been defrauded, but their request had been rejected; so that we should not be surprised if on this occasion they decided to take justice into their own hands. The Magyars have of course bitterly complained of the exactions they suffered at the hands of the Rumanians, but, whatever their severity they never attained the magnitude of those suffered by Rumania. Rumania, for instance, possessed 932 locomotives at the time the Austro-Germans occupied her territory, and they left behind them on their departure only fifty!

After the demonstrative departure of M. Bratianu from Paris, the Rumanian government refused to sign the treaties of St Germain, and that relative to the protection of minorities, since its plenipotentiaries had hardly been consulted in their framing, and as a result diplomatic relations between Rumania and the Entente became exceedingly strained. The Supreme Council finally addressed a note in the form of an ultimatum to Rumania, ordering her to withdraw her troops to the frontiers that had been fixed in the meanwhile at Paris, and to sign the Peace treaties, failing which diplomatic relations were to be severed and all further financial aid suspended. M. Bratianu tendered his resignation in guise of a protest, and King Ferdinand thereupon entrusted the government of the country to Dr Vaida-Voevod, who complied with the demands of the Entente, thereby putting an end to the misunderstandings which had arisen. He further succeeded in securing from the Allies the recognition of Bessarabia's union with Rumania, a demand which had previously been put forward by M. Bratianu, but which the Supreme Council had refused to grant, as at the time it was making advances to the Bolsheviks, and striving by every means to secure their goodwill. It was indeed deplorable for the future pacification of the Near East that the Entente Powers had not fallen in at the time with M. Bratianu's request, but only accepted it subsequently, for

M. Bratianu had coupled it with the offer of retroceding southern Dobrudja to Bulgaria, an offer that would have propitiated the Bulgarians and secured their friendship to Rumania, a friendship that is of inestimable value to her. At the same time the retrocession of this territory would have enabled Bulgaria to carry out the financial obligations that had been imposed on her by the Treaty of Neuilly, and the taxpayers of the Western Powers would later have been absolved from the privilege of contributing funds for propping up yet another state, rendered insolvent by the ineptitude of their own diplomats, who by this heedless act of theirs also deprived our own exporters and manufacturers of a small but valuable market.

Concerning the final frontiers which the Peace Conference at Paris fixed for Rumania, though in certain cases they were not as favourable as those promised by the Entente Powers in 1916, nevertheless it must be admitted that they are drawn more in accordance with the principle of nationality. Rumania was not granted the line of the river Theiss as she had been promised, as this would have incorporated within her territory a yet larger number of Hungarians. It would have been even better for Rumania if her western frontiers had not extended so far as to include preponderatingly Magyar urban populations such as those of Arad, Grosswardein (Oradea Mare) and Satmar (Satu Mare) the assimilation of which is bound to prove exceedingly difficult, and whose incorporation is likely to be a burden rather than an asset to her exchequer. Even such a sincere friend of Rumania as Dr Seton Watson did not approve of the annexation of these towns, and long before the frontiers were drawn he warned the Rumanians not to allow themselves to be influenced by their super-nationalists. It is highly unfortunate that such an authoritative warning and counsel as is contained in the following lines was not heeded at least by those who were entrusted by our fellow-citizens with the task of looking after the welfare of our continent at the Peace Conference. Yet the admonition was as clear as it was convincing. Dr Seton Watson did not hesitate to affirm, even at the time when Rumania was being cajoled into joining the Allies, and when lavish promises were being

728 made, that "it is to be hoped that such exaggerated demands will be disallowed at the future Conference. The possession of Arad, with its poignant sentimental associations for the Magyar race, would be a permanent challenge to Hungary and would embitter tenfold her relations with Rumania, which must at the best be strained for many years to come." ("Rumania and the Great War," page 96.)

With regard to Bucovina, Rumania secured more advantageous frontiers than those the Allies had promised to concede her in 1916. She obtained the line of the river Dniester as her northern frontier.

The decision with regard to the Banat was not so favourable for Rumania, for the Yugoslavs insisted on incorporating the western part, which was peopled mainly by Serbs, and they protested against the allotment to another Power of a territory which stretched right up to their capital, Belgrade, and would have placed the latter under a permanent menace from another state. In consequence the experts of the Conference had to adjust the frontier as best they could, guided mainly by the principle of nationality. The arrangement is not particularly auspicious, as a small Yugoslav enclave cuts the railway line Temesvar (Timişoara)—Bazias, and leaves the latter town isolated from Rumania. The various nationalities inhabiting the Banat are, however, so intermingled that it was next to impossible to reach a more satisfactory solution.

THE POST-WAR PERIOD.

668 648 [728] On Bratianu's[1] resignation, in consequence of the presentation of an ultimatum by the Allies in October, 1919, King Ferdinand formed a Cabinet presided over by General Vaitoanu, with a mandate to call a general election.

A strong majority composed of heterogeneous left groups was returned, out of which a Cabinet presided over by Dr Vaida-Voevod was formed. He entered upon the difficult and ungrateful task of dispelling misunderstandings with the Entente and signing the Peace treaties. No sooner, however, had this been accomplished, than Dr Vaida-Voevod, while

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[1] [head of Rumanian delegation to the peace conference, acting a prime minister, and leader of Liberal Party -- Analyst]

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1

still abroad, was summarily dismissed. Peasant risings, a [668] movement for autonomy in Transylvania, and general instability led to the nomination of General Averescu to 642 office, owing to the reputation he enjoyed of being a strong 648 man, having taken an active part in suppressing the peasant rising of 1907.

General Averescu's government passed the enactment [423] dealing with the distribution of land to the peasants, while his Minister of Foreign Affairs, M. Take Jonescu, laid the foundation of the Little Entente by concluding alliances with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. General Averescu attempted to open pourparlers with Russia, so as to prepare the recognition of Rumania's right to Bessarabia, and there was a fair chance of his succeeding, but he was baulked of his aim, for the King vetoed his plan.

To M. Titulescu was assigned the task of reorganizing the 652 country's finances. This was deemed to be an intrusion into 665 the special domain of the Bratianus,[1] and so by provoking 661 their hostility, brought about Averescu's downfall. M. Take Jonescu was his successor, but he was able to maintain himself in office only for a month. A government constituted by the Bratianu party followed in January, 1922, and remained in power until March, 1926. Owing to the disunion among the Opposition groups the Bratianu party was allowed to carry into effect its nefarious project of securing complete control of the economic resources of Rumania. The whole legislation passed during its tenure of office was of a purely economic character, and under the pretext of consolidating the finances of the country they merely consolidated their own financial dominance.

Popular dissatisfaction was steadily growing in the meanwhile, as instead of relieving the money stringency, the economic policy of the government did nothing but intensify the evil from which the country was suffering. On [664] the other hand the Opposition was closing its ranks and organizing mass demonstrations throughout the country. A monster meeting of peasants was held at Alba-Julia in May, 1925, followed up by vigorous onslaughts against the government. The latter, unable to obtain a foreign loan which would have enabled it to stabilize the currency and relieve

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[1] [The Liberal Party, headed by John Bratianu--Annot.]

[652] the economic crisis which had become endemic, sought to
665 withdraw for a brief period from office in order that popular
661 indignation might be appeased. As it had become obvious, however, that the Opposition, headed by the Transylvanian and peasant groups of the old kingdom aided by the Bessarabians, would sweep the polls and deprive the Bratianu party of the privileges it had arrogated to itself during its last tenure of office, the government manoeuvred to appoint in its stead a political group on whose subservience it could count. The choice fell on General Averescu, who could not pretend to independence of action owing to the numerical weakness of his group, and who was forced to act in leading strings held by the Bratianus on account of his absolute dependence on their support. As a consequence of the prevailing exasperation throughout the country it could be foreseen with certainty that it would be impossible to secure a favourable majority at the election following the exit from office of the Bratianus, even if use was made of the devices habitually employed on such occasions.

666 Before the dissolution of the Chamber, therefore, the
646 Bratianus passed a law reforming the electoral system then in use, which completely altered the very essence of democratic government. By the new system a party obtaining 40% of the total votes cast secured 70% of the seats in the Chamber, and thereby a party which did not possess the support of the majority of the electors might nevertheless secure an imposing majority in the Legislative Chamber. Through the passing of this measure into law, the coming to power of unpopular parties and royal favourites has been made possible, for owing to the malpractices and abuses current at elections, it is relatively easy in Rumania for any person in control of the state-machine to secure the requisite 40% of the votes necessary to ensure him complete domination of the Chamber.

666 In ordinary circumstances there would have been no necessity for this electoral law, since the public has usually a very wholesome respect for whatever party is in power, allowing it to organize the elections to suit its wishes, and permitting it to exert a dominating influence on the polls so that it may be said that the elections are always "made."

THE POST-WAR PERIOD

The elections which followed in May, 1926, were among the 666
most violent which had been witnessed in Rumania. Though 661
the Averescu group had secured the support of the Magyars,
Germans, Jews, Bulgarians and Turks by holding out to
them the most alluring promises, it in no way felt secure,
and therefore had recourse to extensive terrorist methods.
Most Opposition leaders were arrested. Opposition leaders
like Maniu and Vaida-Voevod were prevented from holding
meetings. Mihalache was set upon by gendarmes and beaten
at his home at Topoloveni. The Bessarabian leaders, Stere
and Halippa, while travelling to Bessarabia were ignominiously
thrown out of their train at Floresti, placed under an
escort of gendarmes and conveyed on foot to Cetatea-Alba,
a distance of 300 kilometers, despite the fact that they were
both in a poor state of health at the time. The army and
gendarmerie were mobilized and ordered to see to it that
Rumanian citizens did their duty (such as it was conceived
to be by the government of H.M. King Ferdinand of
Rumania). One of the manifestos issued and distributed
broadcast by army air-planes at the time read:—"If you
trust in the King then you must trust in his government."
As for the way royalty in Rumania conceived its duty of 643
guarding the letter and spirit of the Constitution, one may 666
judge by the fact that the King, aware of the violence to be
committed, and knowing that as the supreme arbiter in the
country he would be besought from all sides to intervene and
put a stop to it, could think of nothing better than to elude
his responsibilities by betaking himself to his yacht, and
cruising on the Danube for a whole week so as not to be
importuned by the complaints of his liege subjects!

In spite of the unprecedented violence employed the 666
government obtained only 54% of the total votes cast, but
it must be remembered that this percentage included almost
the whole of the votes cast by the minorities.

For some time Averescu meekly followed the lead of 642
Bratianu. He surprised nobody, however, when he began 661
to show manifest signs of insubordination, but to no avail.

For the Liberals, knowing the shifty customer with whom they were dealing, had taken their precautions. During their four years of office they had bestowed on most of the

661 state administrations a certain degree of autonomy which,
[642] effectively amputated the central government of many of its
prerogatives, and having filled these administrations with their own partisans they still exerted an influence which could, if necessary, paralyse the governments destined to succeed them in office.

In his electoral manifestoes, Averescu had held out to the Rumanians the most seductive inducements, among others that of a flow of foreign capital into the country. Time passed, however, and so, without any sign of an impending materialization of these assurances, the public began to chafe and inveigh against him. The resentment which the Liberals had aroused against themselves was thus deftly diverted on to the heads of their successors. This result having been duly effected, the Liberals emerged from the seclusion they had hitherto voluntarily imposed on themselves, and now appeared on the scene in the guise of indispensable factors for the restoration of the order and legality so grievously compromised by their incompetent henchman! The King was induced to demand General Averescu to form a coalition Ministry, but after a fruitless effort he was summarily dismissed and replaced by Prince Stirbey, who a fortnight later retired, making way for a Bratianu Government, so that the transition might not appear too brusque.

643 King Ferdinand died in July, 1927, and as the crown passed to his grandson, Michael, a boy of six, a Regency Council was nominated. Ferdinand's son, the notorious Prince Carol, had been excluded from the throne owing to Ferdinand's conviction that Rumania's prestige would suffer if a person with Carol's record became King. A similar opinion seems to have been held by our Foreign Office, for when Prince Carol came over to England in 1925 he received a polite but firm request to leave our shores.

665 Unhappily for the Liberals, their leader, John Bratianu,
died suddenly in November, 1927. His was a strong willed
and dominating personality, capable, but not over scrupulous in the choice of methods. The leadership then passed
to his brother, who until then had been Minister of Finance.
665 The rising storm of popular exasperation caused by the
652 financial policy of the Liberal party, which had brought the

country to the verge of a catastrophe, proved, however, to 665
be too much for the less experienced hands of Vintila Bratianu. 652
Unable to secure a foreign loan, the need of which had
become imperative, he had no choice but to allow the transfer
of the reins of power in November, 1928, to the Opposition,
represented by M. Maniu and the National Peasant party.
The elections which followed took place in freedom, and 666
though this time the minorities did not all vote for the 665
government, nevertheless the latter secured for itself about
78% of the total number of votes cast, which may be taken
as an infallible proof of its popularity. This assured it of a
compact majority of 348 seats in the Chamber. The Opposition
was insignificant, and was composed of sixteen Magyars,
thirteen Liberals, and ten seats distributed amongst various
groups. This election disposed of the fiction that Communism
had a hold on the Rumanian people, for the total
Communist vote attained only 35,000 out of a total of
2,840,660, and it thus became evident that the bogey of
Bolshevism had been cleverly exploited by the Bratianu
dictatorship, in order to justify its terroristic methods in
Bessarabia, as well as for the purpose of winning the goodwill
of the Western Powers for its alleged attempts to
repress it. The most pressing need the Maniu government 652
had to face was the obtention of a foreign loan in order to
avoid the certain catastrophe with which the finances of the
country were threatened. The funds obtained, however,
barely sufficed for stabilizing the currency, and were
altogether inadequate for the task of reconstruction, and
even for the purpose of paying off the most pressing debts
left by the former régime, so that a further loan had to be
secured in 1931.

Unfortunately the country was in a derelict condition, and
with the banking institutions under the control of its adversaries,
determined to undermine the work of the new
government, the latter had an exceedingly difficult task to
tackle. The government passed several liberal measures, 671
such as the suppression of the censorship, the abrogation of
military law in Bessarabia, the reduction of the personnel of
the gendarmerie (chiefly employed by Bratianu for dragooning
the population at election times), and set about

671 preparing a system of regional decentralization which would largely have satisfied the desires of the minorities.

662 Having to rely upon an inefficient administrative staff, with the various autonomous State departments still filled with supporters of the Opposition, and the latter hampering and undermining the government's attempt to clear up the mess in which the country had been left, it was hardly possible to expect that the government of M. Maniu could effect the miraculous change that was expected of it. In order to counteract the underhand machinations of its Liberal opponents, who did not scruple even to sap its credit
642 abroad by circulating scurrilous attacks on it among foreign
643 banking institutions, while at home they brought pressure
561 to bear on the Regency (which had been elected at their dictation) to create irritating hindrances to the smooth working of the government's plans, the latter at last allowed itself to be won over to what at the time was a fairly popular view, namely that of permitting the former Crown Prince Carol to return and ascend the throne. His advent was reckoned as likely to strengthen the hands of the Government, for he shared with the National Peasant Party the hostility of the Bratianus. Carol II, however, after his accession to the throne on June 8th, 1930, began to manifest a distinct predilection for autocratic measures. He arbitrarily removed from his post the able Rumanian Minister in Paris, M. Diamandi, a man who had distinguished himself for years by his devoted and brilliant service to his country, and nominated a personal friend whose sole qualification for this important diplomatic post was that he was a racing man. He estranged both M. M. Maniu and Vaida-Voevod by unconstitutionally interfering in the government, and thereby provoked the resignation of both. As he did not yet feel himself strong enough to dissolve the Chamber he allowed the National Peasant Party to form another Cabinet with M. Mironescu at its head, but he imposed on them as colleague an outsider in the person of M. Manoilescu, another personal friend of his. An attempt was made to form a Coalition Cabinet to be presided over by M. Titulescu, but as this failed the Mironescu Cabinet was tolerated for a time because it was conducting negotiations for a loan, and a premature

disclosure of the impending adoption of a dictatoral régime 642
might have influenced them adversely. Once the loan was 643
obtained, and when it was deemed that the favour with [661]
which the National Peasant Party was regarded had somewhat subsided, owing to the unpopular budget measures it had adopted, M. Mironescu was forced to resign, and death having removed in the meantime the most determined adversary of the King, M. Vintila Bratianu, the former now proceeded to unfold his plan of action.

M. Titulescu was once more summoned to Bucarest and asked to form a broad Coalition Cabinet; but as the National Peasant Party refused to lend its support to a cabinet which would have contained two royal favourites, Manoilescu and Argentoianu, M. Titulescu wisely abandoned the task and returned to London.

The next step of Carol was an attempt to follow the nefarious example of his brother-in-law, the Serbian monarch, and form a military cabinet, but the Spanish revolution which broke out at the time induced him hastily to alter his plans.

M. Argentoianu, who had in the meantime become the 645
favourite adviser of the King, opted for the dissolution of the Chamber and the formation of a cabinet of "technical" experts to shore up the tottering framework; himself to occupy the two most important posts, those of the Ministry of Finances and of the Interior. The technical capacities of M. Argentoianu are of peculiarly sinister character, judging from what former colleagues of his have to say of his activities. Thus General Averescu, in whose cabinet he held the post of Minister of Finances ad-interim, accuses him of unconstitutionally squandering £1,500,000, of thereby defrauding the State, and rendering himself liable to penalties provided in Art. 326 of the Rumanian penal code, as well as in Art. 3 of the law regarding ministerial responsibilities—infractions that had been established by the Judicial authorities in 1923, if we are to trust General Averescu's affirmations as they were published and reproduced in a series of articles in all the principal Bucarest newspapers during January, 1932. Another ex-Finance Minister, M. Virgil Madgearu, on whose integrity we may rely, likewise

645 accuses him of having caused a loss of 90 million lei to the State in 1921, and further affirms that Argentoianu never offered a satisfactory explanation of the reasons which led him to operate so disadvantageously to the interests of the State, though he had been interpellated several times on the subject in the Chamber. We may surmise, therefore, that the technical capacities of M. Argentoianu, who enjoys the reputation of being an arch cynic, were somewhat deficient from the moral point of view, and in order to compensate for this shortcoming the respectable personality of Prof. Iorga, upon whom the dignity of Prime Minister was foisted, was made use of to complete the Cabinet. We may take it for granted that Prof. Iorga, who is a distinguished historian and man of letters, was, like Plato's model ruler, least eager to rule, for he was engaged in an occupation better than ruling, and led a life finer than that of those wielding authority. But his duty to his former royal pupil, as he conceived it, compelled him to quit his life of contemplation and return to work for the general good in what, according to Plato, is the 'cave.' Prof. Iorga, doubtless, must have lost sight to some extent of the difference between the perfect State, which is unattainable, and the good State which is a present possibility, as expounded respectively in the "Republic" and the "Laws." Otherwise, he would have halted before returning to the darkness of the cave. His presence would have been desirable in such conditions as prevail in the unattainable and ideal perfect State, but such would not be those obtaining in a State with the present possibilities of Rumania.

642 645 It is to this confusion of ideas, as well as to the evident desire to exert even a limited restraining influence on his sovereign, that we must have recourse in order to explain Prof. Iorga's consent to read a royal decree dissolving Parliament and ordering new elections to be held in June, 1931.[1]

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[1] In an interview published by the "Echo de Paris," June 29th, 1930, Professor Iorga stated, amongst other things, that "whenever the party spirit overruled the spirit of patriotism he would be found by the side of the King, in order to defend the supreme interests of the nation." Professor Iorga's attachment to the throne is explicable by his traditionalism. As a historian he sees in his sovereign, the lineal descendant of Stephen the Great, or of Michael the Brave. A non-Rumanian, however, may be dispensed from taking such a view, and excused if he does not hold a very high opinion of a scion of the Hohenzollerns who promulgates rascally laws defrauding the unwary foreign investor and trader.

THE POST-WAR PERIOD

642 666 A very unfavourable impression was created by the dismissal of the Chamber controlled by the National Peasant Party, the only standard-bearer of democracy in the country. It is probable that the electorate would have reacted with more spirit if the people had not foreseen that the thwarting of the royal will would have entailed the abolition of even the semblance of a Parliamentary system, and the proclamation of a pure dictatorship. Though not to an overwhelming extent, violence and illegality were pretty freely employed, to judge from the cases reported in the Press, yet in spite of all these artifices and the mass abstention of its opponents the elements supporting the Iorga-Argentoianu Coalition secured only 48% of the total votes cast; a very meagre performance indeed if it be remembered that even the Liberal party figured among its supporters.

645 665 That the Iorga-Argentoianu Cabinet did not fulfil the hopes placed in it by the King became obvious when he again summoned M. Titulescu, early in 1932, to Bucarest, and asked him to form a broad coalition cabinet. No real coalition cabinet truly representative of the national will could be formed without the inclusion of the National Peasant Party, and the leaders of the latter, when sounded, replied in a truly dignified manner that so long as constitutional methods were not observed they would abstain from participation. M. Titulescu gave up the mission and once more returned to his ambassadorial duties in London. Even those who by their votes helped the Cabinet to install itself in office seemed to have turned against it, for during a sitting of the Rumanian Senate on December 5th, 1931, M. Pillat, belonging to the Liberal party, delivered the following trenchant criticism on the Cabinet: " When you came to power you had promised three principal things: 1st, reduction of the Budget and a lightening of taxation through economies; 2nd, a redressing of the financial and economic situation and of the agrarian crisis; 3rd, penalties for all abuses. But what has been realised? The policy of feigned economies has not stopped the practice of dissipation, aggravated by fresh injustices. In a time of such poverty you have not only maintained old sinecurist in office but you have created even new ones. Favourites of other régimes who exert cumulative

645 functions have been left undisturbed. We have a plethora
665 of functionaries drawing starvation wages instead of a body
of well-selected officials decently rewarded. You who have no party and no party attachments to satisfy, and who always attacked political parties, might have effected this change easily, but you have not done so. The reductions in the Budget were necessary, yet they ought not to have cut into the very vitals of the country. The financial policy of M. Argentoianu may be qualified as the policy of bankruptcy. No institution, however strong its foundations, can resist it. You have destroyed the schools and disorganized the army by a criminal reduction of credits. In the name of the Liberal party I must affirm that we cannot accept a constitutional theory which, if it be applied, will debilitate our political life, and by the elimination of political parties vitiate the expression of the national will in its essence, expose the Crown dangerously to attack, and even provide the possibility of irremediably compromising it."

871 The indictment with regard to the schools found in the
above rebuke refers to the decision taken by the Government
652 to shift on to the municipalities 50 per cent of the educational
charges. As the Municipal authorities cannot balance their budgets, and as an example the community of Solca was cited, which with a total annual budget of 430,000 lei would have been obliged to incur an additional expenditure of 400,000 lei in order to provide for the maintenance of its primary school, the deputies admitted that such charges were beyond the resources of the municipalities to bear, and the proposed legislation was at last rejected after a most strenuous opposition from the National Peasant Party supported by the Liberal deputies who had hitherto sided with the Government.

871 Another cause likely to prejudice education in Rumania
is the non-payment of salaries to teachers. During the
875 sitting of the Chamber on April 4th, 1932, a case was re-
ported of certain teachers, who are all State functionaries in Rumania, who had not received their pay for seven months. Associations of teachers in various localities have called meetings and have addressed telegrams of protest on the subject to the King. Thus, those of the region of Radauţi on

May 7th, 1932, solicited the King's intervention, and de- 871
manded that their emoluments, already four months in 875
arrears, should be paid. Those of Balți appealed to the Press on the same date, complaining that nothing had been paid them during the last five months. A general strike of the members of the teaching profession is being talked about if a remedy is not found. They are incensed by the fact that while public money is being squandered on useless objects and worthless individuals at Bucarest, humble functionaries in the provinces are left to famish.

The "Adeverul" of Jan. 19th, 1932, takes the Govern- 652
ment to task for paying regularly its superior functionaries 647
and neglecting the lower grades as well as its pensioners, and 871
proceeds to relate particulars as astounding as they are scandalous, namely details about famishing teachers who are forced to beg for morsels of bread from their pupils! Such facts are really staggering, and when one recollects that France is generously advancing in instalments a loan of over one hundred million francs for the exclusive purpose of enabling the Rumanian State to pay its functionaries and pensioners, one demands what has become of this money and whether these funds have not again been diverted in the habitual manner to other purposes or pockets than those destined by the original providers of these sums?

The inept waste of public money at this critical period is 652
simply revolting. The press daily reveals cases of gross 647
extravagance and profligacy, while in the Chamber it has been admitted that the State keeps in its employ over 50,000 redundant functionaries. The "Argus" of May 5th, 1932, for instance, points out that the Ministry of Commerce and Industry maintains without any justification a sub-secretariat with a personnel of 116, among whom are twelve solicitors, one architect, one doctor of medicine, 14 chiefs of sections, etc, at an annual cost of 15,176,900 lei to the State, while on April 1st, 1932, the paper condemned at length the waste involved in the maintenance of a Faculty of Medicine at the University of Bucarest with a staff of 400 professors and assistants, while the total number of students matriculated to this faculty reached barely 900.

The paper likewise affirmed that there was a scandalous

647 prodigality displayed in the lavishing of big salaries on
652 certain functionaries occupying inferior posts, salaries which were altogether disproportionate with their functions, and that this form of favouritism was rampant in every administration. These remarks of the " Argus " are certainly not amiss, and it could be added that the faculty of Law has a greater number of Professors than the corresponding faculty of the Paris University. In its issue for the 14th May it criticizes the War Ministry for undertaking the construction of an arch of triumph in Bucarest, a matter which obviously is not one of pressing importance. The same could also be said about the Royal Palace at Bucarest, which is being enlarged and renovated. The " Curentul " of 6th May, 1932, discloses that the State maintains a school of gamekeepers at an annual cost of 1,512,000 lei and demands its prompt closure. In its issue of May 19th, 1932, it virulently condemns the Government for allowing fifty of its parliamentary supporters to undertake a voyage of relaxation to Constantinople, Jerusalem and Cairo, during the Easter holidays of 1932, at the expense of the State. It may be remarked that Rumanian governments often recompense their partisans by attaching them to various missions sent abroad so that they may enjoy free trips. Thus at the recent Balkan Conferences it was remarked that the number of Rumanian delegates often equalled the joint numbers of Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek and Yugo-Slav representatives. The " Dreptatea " of May 19th, 1932, takes the Government to task for not paying its functionaries, yet finding some 800,000 lei for the purchase of books for the public libraries, and delegating to Paris two public functionaries at a cost of 40,000 lei for making the purchase of the said books from a French publishing firm.

The "Argus" of May 6th, 1932, in a leading article insists that this costly and luxurious organization with which the Rumanian State has been endowed should be got rid of, and order and sobriety introduced, for otherwise neither loans nor assistance from without will be of any use. In 1929 and 1931, 24 milliard lei were borrowed; of this sum almost nine milliards were absorbed to cover previous deficits, and yet to-day, assures the " Argus," Rumania is no better off.

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1

THE POST-WAR PERIOD

There is a deficit of five and a half milliards left over from 652
the years 1930/31, and of 1,100 millions arising from the first 647
three months of the current year. In all, a deficit of six and a half milliard lei, which is entirely due to bad management.

To these budget deficits should be added some ten milliard 652
lei, owing by the State to various local contractors and industries, the non-payment of which has caused an enormous prejudice to the internal economy of the country, since these enterprises, having all their liquid funds "frozen up," have been obliged to stop their activities and dismiss their staffs, thereby intensifying the crisis.

The legislation recently passed by the Government has 652
also had a most unfortunate repercussion on the general 426
situation. Thus the law sanctioning the cancellation of agrarian debts has resulted in the ruin of almost every bank in the country, for, with a few rare exceptions, all have directly or indirectly advanced money to agriculturists, who by this law, promulgated in April, 1932, are dispensed from their obligations to the extent of 50 %, while the remaining 50% is rendered recoverable within 30 years. No compensation whatever is granted by the State to the banks or to private individuals who had been unfortunate enough to have advanced money to the peasants, even on the security of a mortgage. The result is that almost every banking institution and thousands of people have been ruined at one stroke.

This measure has not met with the general approval even 648
of the peasantry, for the most prosperous and enterprising 652
among them, who naturally had placed their savings in the banks, have thereby lost their money, since all the rural banks have been rendered insolvent. The total cessation of all credit, which has naturally followed the suspension of banking operations in the rural districts, has caused immense loss to the farmers, who can no longer borrow money even for their most pressing needs. Another law, that of the so-styled "Liquidation Judiciaire," completes and intensifies the evils fostered by that of the "Concordat preventif," rendering all commercial debts practically irrecoverable without the condescension of the debtor. Such measures are

648 indicative of the complete chaos which prevails in the minds
652 of those at the helm of the State, and who, seeing the *impasse* to which they have brought the country, appealed to France to send a mission of financial experts to devise means whereby Rumania may be extricated from the morass in which she has been entangled. This mission, headed by M. Rist, former adviser to the Rumanian National Bank, has arrived at the end of April, 1932, and is preparing a report which apparently is to recommend a drastic curtailment of the government staffs, and a reorganization of the tax-collecting system. Though exceedingly discreet, these advisers could not help expressing their astonishment at the bungling methods obtaining, and several higher officials in the Ministry of Finances have been summarily dismissed in consequence of their gross incompetence. Surprise, too, has been expressed at the number of officials employed in the Ministries
[647] of War and Public Instruction, 33,533 and 82,821 respectively, staffs more numerous than in the corresponding institutions in France, a country noted for its bureaucratism. The activities of these foreign advisers, who, after all, had been invited to come, and who are rendering a signal service to the country, have given rise to an outburst of xenophobia which is truly surprising. The press, with a few rare exceptions has protested against this immixture in the internal affairs of the State, which it pretends to regard as an affront to the national dignity, and has not wearied of insisting that Rumania should desist from paying her external debt service, which absorbs some six milliard lei per annum. Such a solution seems natural for a State which condones the annulment of all pecuniary engagements of the most numerous class of its citizens, as is provided in the law concerning the cancellation of agrarian debts. However, the Government seems unwilling to go so far, and it declares on all occasions that it will fulfil its foreign obligations in spite of the heavy sacrifices this decision may entail. Already it has taken the cue given by the French experts, and promptly dismissed five Under-Secretaries of State, early in May, 1932. The fall of the Tardieu Cabinet, which seemed disposed to extend a loan to Rumania on certain conditions, may now induce the Rumanian government to retrace its steps to a

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1

certain extent, as apparently the new French government 648
will be less inclined to make financial advances. Neverthe- 652
less the Cabinet will hesitate to assume the responsibility of
openly defaulting, lest such action should be resented by
France and to a lesser extent by England, and bring about
Rumania's political isolation in face of Russia. So that,
strange as it may seem, the dread of the Bolsheviks may
contribute to the respect of engagements, the repudiation of
which would be applauded by the latter.

The press organ of General Averescu, the "Indreptarea," 648
in its issues of 12th and 18th May, 1932, contains some inter- 652
esting comments on the findings of the French experts. It 647
thus affirms that the experts have ascertained that there is a
lack of control in the handling of the public funds, that there
is a great redundancy of officials, and that huge frauds are
committed at the expense of the State revenues. As an
example, the case of the revenue from the Customs was
given, which was estimated at 1,200 million lei, yet only
yielded 400 millions, the balance of 800 millions having been
fraudulently diverted to other pockets than that of the State.
M. Rist, affirms the "Indreptarea," had recommended a
compression of the expenses through the dismissal of a large
number of functionaries, and the creation of a control of all
payments made to the State so as to eliminate the numerous
frauds to which the Budget deficit is principally due. If these
reforms were effected, Rumania, according to M. Rist, could
fulfil her external obligations. However, the findings of the
experts were not likely to enhance the prestige of Rumania
in Paris and it hardly seemed likely that the French would
now keep their promise made to M. Argentoianu to give
pecuniary assistance to Rumania, unless they were allowed
to exert a control which would be tantamount to applying to
Rumania the status of what in its essence would be a colonial
dependency. Such measures, if their acceptance were advo- 648
cated by the Government, would weaken its prestige to such 666
an extent that it could no longer maintain itself in power, 645
even if it enjoyed royal support. The weakening of its
authority was manifested by its decision not to allow the
holding of municipal elections which were to take place in

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1

645 [666] [644] June, 1932, a measure which is resented by all political parties as a formal violation of the constitution.

From the above it will be clear that whatever popularity the Iorga-Argentoianu Cabinet may have enjoyed, and whatever the hopes to which it may have given rise on its formation, these have now been totally dispelled. This is not without causing a distinct prejudice to Rumania, for undoubtedly, Prof. Iorga is one of the most distinguished Rumanians and represents an immense moral asset for the country. He would have proved an ideal chief for a broad coalition of all political parties, and his presence, owing to his integrity as well as to his erudition would have immensely strengthened the position of such a popularly elected government.

000 Owing to the marked "lipsandry" from which Rumania is suffering, it was an unpardonable mistake on the part of her ruler to expose an eminent personality like that of Prof. Iorga to risk his reputation, and by trading on his sentiments of devotion to the throne to force him to join a team headed by an Argentoianu, who, according to General Averescu, ought to be in the dock, and not on the Ministerial bench.[1]

665 With the passing of time, and with the worsening of the situation, attacks on the present régime have become more virulent. General Averescu, who under Rumania's former kings was often appealed to on difficult circumstances, and who feels that he has been undeservedly ousted by the Iorga-Argentoianu combination, continues his vehement attacks on both Government and King, whom he threatens with the fate of Prince Cuza, deposed forcibly in 1866. Far more significant, however, is the attitude of the National Peasant Party, which so far has maintained a very dignified attitude. All of a sudden on May 15th, 1932, the "Patria," the organ of the Transylvanian section of the party, launched a virulent attack on the régime, denouncing the scandalous exploitation to which Transylvania is being subjected and threatening with a demand for autonomy. This campaign,

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[1] In June, 1932, the "Dreptatea" repeatedly accused Argentoianu of having appropriated 20 million lei of public money, of which, 12 millions between May 17th and 31st, and eight millions on June 3rd and 4th, after he had resigned from office.

which is supported by the bulk of the party, may prove salutary for the country, as it is the only peaceful means by which a reversion to constitutional practice may be secured. A similar campaign has been launched by the Liberal or Bratianu party, for the elimination of the present régime, and it is possible that the force of circumstances may lead eventually to a close co-operation between these two political parties in order to attain this common object which at the present moment each is attempting to secure independently. That such a contingency is well within the domain of possibility, is clear owing to the widespread dislike and unpopularity the present régime is encountering, which is apparent from the persistent attacks it is subjected to by the Press; even independent newspapers like the "Lupta" and "Adeverul" joining in them. In fact nothing could better characterize the prevailing discontent than the following excerpts from articles published by the above mentioned newspapers on 17th May, 1932. "Whither this sort of government has brought us is made clear by a perusal of the newspapers published in all regions of the country. They show that the laws promulgated by the Government are either inapplicable or prove the source of new unforeseen confusions, explainable by the lack of forethought or the haste of those in authority. Their incompetence has undermined confidence amongst all classes of the population and has created a state of moral depression which shows itself in regrettable violent agrarian manifestations, in protests by members of the teaching profession and the frequent suicides committed all over the country, the majority of which are due to poverty.

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The Government, which since its assumption of the reins of power has not even once had the moral courage to verify whether it enjoys the confidence of the nation or not, should comprehend from these manifestations that it has lost even the ultimate justification for continuing its activities, namely the hope of obtaining an amelioration of the present situation."

While the "Adeverul," commenting on the campaign launched by the Transylvanian section of the National Peasant Party affirms: "The echoes of discontent which

668 resound from the province across the Carpathians are not isolated. The whole country is agitated by this discontent which may explode at any moment."

The above statements should not be taken as outbursts of spite, for even in official publications, such as the bulletin of the Constantsa Chamber of Commerce, we come across similar pronouncements: "We are facing a complete economic disaster. All the productive forces of the country are exhausted. All private savings lent on credit are lost owing to general insolvency. The State is unable to collect even one fourth of the direct taxes it imposes. We have arrived at this state of affairs owing to the irrational financial policy of post-war governments . . . . Great mistakes were committed, and this fact should be admitted before we start on the right path. Many of our rulers were incompetent and dissipated, not to say that they acted as profiteers." (February, 1932, p. 23–26.)

645 [652] Since proofs were submitted the following events have occurred in Rumania:

Owing to the growing discontent among public functionaries, pensioners and officers at their not receiving their pay, the King felt constrained to enjoin the Cabinet to satisfy forthwith the legitimate claims of these public servants. The government, unable to comply with this behest, tendered its resignation early in June, whereupon the King once more convoked M. Titulescu to Bucarest, and bade him form a coalition cabinet. M. Titulescu's efforts proved again fruitless; for while the National Peasant Party did not refuse its co-operation, the Liberal Party asked that it should be entrusted with a mandate to form a government, as it pretended to be strong and capable enough to deal singly with the situation.

666 As, however, no party possessed a majority in the Chamber, it was decided to dissolve it, and to appeal to the electorate. M. Vaida-Voevod, who is known to be strongly opposed to gerrymandering, and other electoral abuses in vogue in Rumania, formed a provisional government to supervise the elections. These were held in July, and the

National Peasant Party, though it polled less than 50% of 666
the votes cast, secured 272 seats against 114 won by the
Opposition. (The Liberals obtained 28, and the section of
the party led by M. G. Bratianu, 14 mandates.)

M. Vaida-Voevod having discharged the duty assigned to 646
him retired from office; but as the National Peasant Party
possessed a working majority in the newly-elected Chamber,
it was called upon to assume power. The Opposition
attempted to challenge the right of the National Peasant
Party to govern the country owing to the smallness of the
poll it secured at the elections, though it was the Liberal
party itself, now heading the Opposition, which introduced
the law conferring a majority of seats in the Chamber on the
party which would poll 40% of the votes.

M. Maniu was besought by his partisans to resume once 645
more the premiership, but after several interviews
with the King, declared himself unable to do so.
He recommended, however, M. Vaida-Voevod to undertake
the task, and accordingly a Cabinet headed by the
latter was formed which includes both M. Mihalache and M.
Madgearu, and other prominent members of the party. The 652
government thus formed proceeded to secure a loan of 50
million swiss francs, wherewith to pay its officials for the
time being, and to publish its program, which in the main
lines aims at: Reforming the present electoral law, reintroducing
administrative decentralization, and reorganizing the
railway administration. Equitable treatment of minorities
is promised, as well as a modification of the law concerning
the conversion of agrarian debts. At the same time State
finances are to be reorganized with the co-operation of the
League of Nations.

This last plan, however, will not work out so smoothly, 652
for the Opposition will do its utmost to stir up popular feeling 648
against it. Even when two League delegates arrived in
June, 1932, to examine the economic situation, the Press
was unanimous in deprecating this public investigation and
treating it as an offence against the country's dignity. The
most widely read paper, having a daily circulation of some
40,000 copies, appeared with a leading article entitled "the
day of shame."

RUMANIA

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648 Though there may be nothing derogatory in foreign supervision of Rumanian finances, Rumanian politicians will insist on decrying it as an affront to the *amour propre* of their country, because such control will prevent them from embezzling public funds. However, one may well question whether the League of Nations is the most suitable authority to take in hand such a difficult task after its lamentable failures in Bulgaria and Hungary, where the proceeds of the loans raised under its aegis served mainly to bolster up reactionary governments. After such a disastrous experience—at least so far as British subscribers to these loans are concerned, who have lost two thirds of their capital—it is doubtful whether the League of Nations would again venture to appeal with any hope of success for funds on behalf of its prospective ward. All the more so, since the League is not cut out for dealing with such a mendacious and elusive body of political mountebanks as it will have to transact business with in Rumania. M. Maniu's refusal to reassume the premiership is to be interpreted as a failure on his part to secure from the King implicit assurances that constitutional practices would not be tampered with again, so that the League will not know whom it will have to face when the National Peasant Party is once more turned out of office. It would be better apparently if this formidable job of cleansing Rumania's Augean stables were tackled by a single country, like France, which owing to its ascendancy as an ally, could exert the requisite authority. If the French were given a free hand, they would see at least that their money served its purpose, and they would take adequate precautions to counter-check effectively all the evasions and underhand manoeuvres in which Rumanian politicians are past masters.

POLITICS.

POLITICAL PARTIES.

The Liberal or Bratianu Party.—The regular system of party government composed of two great political parties, the Liberal and Conservative, which had ruled alternatively in Rumania during the reign of Charles I, came to a close with the Great War, which brought about the dismemberment of the Conservatives. It was an arrangement based on the "spoils" system, and entailed a change of the majority of state officials with every change of government. This instability of tenure of all posts in the Civil Service necessarily encouraged corruption, but it may be said that it was a political system which for the time being made on the whole for stability and assured to Rumania an immunity from revolts and crimes by which other States of South Eastern Europe had distinguished themselves during the same period. 665 647

It is regrettable that both parties had neglected to create a contented class of peasant proprietors which would have constituted a sound bulwark against the onset of disintegrating forces let loose by the war. Instead, great land and financial monopolies closely connected with the personnel of these two political parties were fostered. 665

The agrarian revolution led to the elimination of the Conservatives, while the Liberal party retained its vigour owing to its grip on the economic life of the country. Owing to the absence of a powerful rival, the Liberal party became the supreme arbiter in the land during the first decade following the conclusion of the war. But, from a political party it had degenerated into a coterie aiming solely at the exploitation of the country for the benefit of its partisans, and, as such, though firmly established in the old kingdom, seeing that it constituted the main avenue by which one could accede to political life, it was unable to extend its influence in the newly incorporated provinces, where, fortunately, other political conceptions prevailed. 661 665

It had identified itself with the Bratianu family, which exerted an autocratic sway over it. After John Bratianu's death, in 1927, the leadership passed to his brother Vintila 665

665 Bratianu, the inspirer of that rabid xenophobia to which may
be ascribed the major part of the woes from which the
country is suffering to-day. On his death, the conduct of
the party was entrusted to M. Duca, but there is a small dissi-
dent fraction of the party which is led by M. George
665 Bratianu. The split was due to the fact that the majority of
642 the party was opposed to the return of the present King
Carol II, and to their taking up an altogether intransigent
attitude on the subject which was considered impolitic by M.
G. Bratianu. After M. Vintila Bratianu's death, however,
the party's relations with the Crown considerably improved,
and it even went so far as to lend its concourse to the election
and maintenance in power of the Iorga-Argentoianu Cabinet
in order to emphasize its determination to maintain good
relations with the King. It changed its tactics as regards the
Government after the latter had been in office for a year, and
opened a violent campaign aiming at its overthrow, as it
considers that this régime is causing much harm to the
country, and apprehends that it may be succeeded by yet
other political combinations enjoying royal favour, thus
perpetuating a system which would tend towards the
elimination of political parties from participation in the
government of the country.

Speeches made by M. M. Duca and Tatarascu, a prominent member of the party, at a political meeting held at Braila on May 15th, 1932, give a clear indication of the attitude of the party. It was explained at this meeting that the support extended to the Iorga-Argentoianu government was due to the desire to avoid all difficulties to the king, and allow the latter to carry on the experience he wished to initiate without embarrassment. After a year's trial, however, it became obvious that it was imperative to remove this Government which was bringing disaster to the country, to change the methods and system of government, and to revert to constitutional practice.

665 *The National Peasant Party.*—The agrarian reform which had been carried out on the conclusion of the peace led to the emergence of an agrarian political party of ultra-radical tendencies. It formed. however, an amorphous mass that required the demagogic activities of a leader such as the late

POLITICAL PARTIES

Bulgarian Prime Minister Stambuliiski, in order to weld it 665
together and impart to it the driving energy of a revolutionary party. Fortunately for Rumania, its peasantry was led by a man who is remarkable not only for his common sense, but also for his extreme frankness, sincerity and modesty, and who in the midst of unparalleled corruption leads and insists on living a clean life. His devotion to the ideal he serves explains his readiness to relegate himself to the background whenever he believes that his self-effacement can be conducive to the advancement of his party or to the welfare of his country. He grasped the dangers inherent in an extremist policy for a country which had not yet firmly consolidated its various constituent segments, nor secured the spiritual unity of its people, and instead of following the easy course of giving a free rein to the hotheads of his party, he used his authority instead to curb their revolutionary zeal. M. Ion Mihalache, a former teacher by profession, foresaw that the wisest policy was to secure the adherence to the Peasant Party of various groups and public men who by their moral standing might add to its prestige, and by their influence help to exert a restraining force on its revolutionary activities. Such individuals were unfortunately inexistent in the old kingdom with the solitary exception of Prof. Iorga, who for over forty years had been performing the combined functions of a national tribune and a moralist. Mihalache, therefore, had to turn to the newly incorporated provinces, though his decision to co-operate with outsiders and facilitate their access to the government of the country created intense resentment in the old kingdom. Of the new territories, 186
Transylvania alone had been distinguished for its tenacious 665
defence of its nationality under Hungarian rule. It possessed a National party which for fifty years had battled heroically against Magyar despotism, and had been purified and tempered through the endless persecution it had been subjected to. Such a political group was ideally designed to serve as the nucleus of a larger party aiming at the emancipation of the Rumanian people from the oligarchy which persisted in exploiting it both politically and economically. The National Party of Transylvania, though naturally including intellectuals, was mainly a peasant party itself,

[186] 665 since it was a purely Rumanian party and represented proportionately all strata of the population, while Transylvania formed part of Hungary. Those of its adherents who pursued their personal advancement rather than that of their party had deserted it, and on the union of Transylvania with Rumania they joined the ranks of the various political groups of the old kingdom, believing that such conduct would be conducive to more rapid promotion for them. The party had thereby been purged of all doubtful elements, and those who remained could be considered as absolutely devoted to their ideal, namely the emancipation of the Rumanian democracy from a tyranny, which, though no longer Magyar, was to liberal-minded men perhaps even more stifling and more repulsive than that exerted of old from Budapest. [189] The Transylvanian National Party should not be mistaken on account of its name, for a group permeated by narrow nationalistic views; on the contrary, in respect to treatment of racial minorities in Rumania, it aims at securing for them the widest possible autonomy compatible with the maintenance of the Rumanian State. The majority of its rank and file being composed of peasants, its union with the Peasant party of Rumania was an occurrence which was bound to happen, fostered as it was through a community of suffering and an identity of desires. From every point of view the fusion of these two parties may be regarded as the most hopeful portent in Rumanian political life in recent times.

It was particularly felicitous also for the Transylvanian section since it afforded it an opportunity to repudiate the charge of cherishing separatist tendencies. The new group undoubtedly represents the most numerous and sanest elements in Rumania. The predominance of the Transylvanian intellectuals in it is due to the fact that these men are conscious of their civic duties, that they are resolved to serve their less developed peasant brethren and to bear their burdens in common, rather than to hoist themselves up into oligarchic groups intent on exploiting the rural masses. When the intellectuals of the old kingdom learn to subordinate their personal interest to that of their country, they will undoubtedly be eager to follow the example set by M. M. Maniu and Vaida-Voevod.

The fusion of the two parties was officially proclaimed on Oct. 10th, 1926, and led to enthusiastic demonstrations. The only regret formulated at the time was that Prof. Iorga had not seen his way to accept the presidency of the new party.

His abstention was most regrettable since his presence in the party would have added immensely to its moral prestige, and the disappointment caused was all the keener since he had potently helped to bring about the fusion. Apparently at the last moment he must have been frightened by the undue preponderance of the peasant element in the party and have come to the conclusion that it would not be possible to maintain its policy within strictly constitutional bounds, nor impose on the more restive elements of the party the discipline and authority he is accustomed to exert on his own small party, composed entirely of the intellectual *élite* of Rumania absolutely devoted to his views. Prof. Iorga's apprehensions seem to have been partly justified, for prior to the National Peasant Party's accession to power in November, 1928, it traversed several internal crises which caused the shedding of several members, but fortunately these difficulties were finally surmounted, thanks to the self-sacrifice and circumspection shown by its leaders.

The program of the party is extremely radical and distinguished by its liberality for the ethnic minorities to which it promises the granting of complete satisfaction concerning their cultural desiderata. It aims at the adoption of a system of regional autonomy, an excellent measure which would go a long way to allay the dissatisfaction caused by the excessive centralization so far exerted from Bucarest. Another important object is the stabilization of the status of public functionaries which naturally will remove them from the influence of the politicians. In the economic domain its scope is to subordinate the interests of an excessive and artificially created industrialism to agriculture, which it considers as the country's mainstay. The concourse of foreign capital being considered an indispensable condition for the country's development, a régime of complete legality was to be introduced and foreign and local capital were to be treated on an

665 equal footing. The development of railway communications was to be achieved by the granting of complete and effective autonomy to the railway administration, and in certain cases even the construction and exploitation of new lines was to be left to private enterprise.

M. Maniu, the leader of the party, has temporarily withdrawn from political life as a sign of protest against the unconstitutional methods adopted by the King. In spite of persistent and recurring demonstrations on the part of his followers, M. Maniu has refused to reconsider his decision, but his post of president of the party is being kept vacant in the belief, that eventually a return to constitutional methods will permit him to emerge from his self-imposed exile in Transylvania and to resume his political activities. The latter region, having evolved under Magyar rule an alert public opinion, has recently been the scene of imposing political manifestations, in the course of which the most profound and touching attachment for M. Maniu has been evinced. The latter has consistently counselled moderation to his followers, expressing his confidence that the King would in time perceive his mistake and return to constitutional methods. The Transylvanians form the better educated and more enlightened section of Rumania's population, and therefore it should not be surprising that they should be both more vigilant and restive. Already voices are raised advocating the abandonment of the passive policy of dignified abstention as prescribed by M. Maniu, and a revision of the tactics hitherto followed is demanded. It is probable that the whole party will come round to this view, as Bucarest has been incapable of either formulating a generous policy or, what is even more difficult, of carrying it
186 into effect. This latent possibility of the appearance of a militant opposition headed by the National Peasant Party is
665 not, it seems, too remote, for the Transylvanians are dissatisfied not only with the present régime, but also with the general attitude adopted towards them by politicians of the old kingdom. In a congress of the Transylvanian section of the party, held at Cluj at the end of March, 1932, M. Vaida-Voevod declared " we clearly see that there exists a conspiracy which premeditates the undermining of the forces of

Transylvania, so that by impoverishing us they may exploit and lord over us."

Both M. M. Maniu and Vaida-Voevod are known for their moderation and circumspection and through the "Patria," the mouthpiece of the Transylvanian section of the party, they have endeavoured to impose silence on their more turbulent followers and on the advocates of militant methods. But if a new political combination is imposed on the country from above, it seems that their hands will be forced and a more combative attitude adopted, which may well be the signal for radical changes in Rumania. The Transylvanian peasantry is far from being prone to allow the Rumanian goverment to ride roughshod over its constitution, and the absence so far, of subversive movements in that province is solely due to the demureness and composure of M. M. Maniu and Vaida-Voevod and should not be taken as indicative of a peaceful disposition. On the contrary, the Press campaign of General Averescu against the present régime has been widely approved and the peasantry is openly expressing sympathy with him. He is in fact becoming a very popular figure. Owing to the severe crisis which the province is traversing, which is more acutely felt than in the old kingdom because from the cultural point of view it is several stages ahead of the latter, it would not require much effort to turn the brewing dissatisfaction into open revolt. Already the peasants are beginning to manifest their disapproval of M. Maniu's attitude, and are more and more insistently demanding that he should abandon his present seclusion and explain the reasons for the passivity he has so far shown. Apparently they believe that the time has come for more drastic methods. A speech from M. Maniu delivered in February, 1932, to a delegation of his party, which went to greet him at his country retreat at Badacin and ask him to resume his duties as leader of the party, is characteristic of the efforts he employs to assuage the militant ardour of his supporters. He refused to accept anew the leadership, and among other things he is reported to have declared: "To-day the nation is deprived of its constitutional rights; we are on the threshold of bankruptcy, both economic and moral; we see anarchy enthroned in men's souls and hatred fomented in the pro-

668 vinces, and in the murmur of this growing dissolution one
665 hardly hears the voice of the national conscience, one and undivided. The nation is in the midst of disquieting social and economic troubles, and is being conducted by inexperienced and unprepared men, deprived of intuition and without inspiration. In such solemn moments you ask for my guidance. I shall offer you none. You have both intelligence and conscience. I pray you to revere the memory of the sufferings which brought about the consummation of the national unity. I beg of you that momentary incitations should not be allowed to trouble the purity of your devotion to the ideal of the unity of our State. . . . Uphold the unity of the National Peasant Party because it is by its aid that we shall revert to a democratic and constitutional life and extricate the peasantry and the whole social structure from its present wretchedness. Do not forget that you have to fight for a policy of equity towards the provinces. . . . . . We have the advantage of having a youthful king of our own generation. We have received him with justified enthusiasm, and we believe that thanks to the qualities with which he is endowed, he will respond to the people's heartfelt desire and lead it accordingly."

665 This policy of passivity, hitherto followed, seems to have reached its close, for all of a sudden on May 14th, 1932, the "Patria" published a vehement attack on the government which may be taken as the preliminary move in a systematic campaign aiming at its removal. This fulminating article created a sensation in Bucarest, and hopes were expressed that this rebellious attitude of the Transylvanian section of the National Peasant party would not meet with the approval of its partisans in the old kingdom, but fortunately for the Rumanian people these forebodings were soon dispelled when the Bucarest organ of the party, the "Dreptatea," announced that this campaign had the full support of the party behind it. A concise summary of the above mentioned article in the "Patria" is given below as it indicates very clearly not only the wrongs inflicted on Transylvania, but also that the patience of the people is at an end.

661 "Transylvania and the Banat have been reduced to the
668 state of colonies left to the discretion of illiterate exploiters.

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1
Transylvania

Eighty-six per cent of the State revenue is being raised this year in our province. Transylvania forms one-third of the total territory of Rumania, and possesses only one-fifth of the total wealth of the country; how then can this imposition of 86% of the total burden of taxation on our province be justified? 661 668

This oligarchy at Bucarest constitutes a gigantic swindle which has transgressed all limits and which in any other civilized State would long since have been blown up from its very foundations, so that every trace of this moral ugliness which disgraces this country should be removed. We do not enjoy equality of treatment with other Rumanians, for we have been excluded from appointments in the army, the customs, the railways, the post, the administration and the magistrature. We are far from being autonomists, but we will ask whether under such circumstances it is possible to stem for long the claim for autonomy. In all corners of the country people begin to display restlessness. They demand that a campaign be opened not only against the government but also especially against the present régime which aims at despoiling the nation of its birth-rights. This campaign will soon begin and citizens will have the privilege of sacrificing themselves for the purpose of securing the return of a constitutional régime. It will be a campaign of extreme violence in the course of which nobody will be spared.

The present economic disaster which we are experiencing is to a great part due to the disorderly conduct of State affairs from which Rumanians of the provinces have been excluded. For decades the provinces have been subjected to a policy of pauperization and political serfdom. We raise a solemn protest and warning that the time is not distant when Rumanians of the provinces will no longer tolerate these adventurers and political mountebanks who treat the provinces as colonies fit only to be exploited." . . . .

This overt and frank criticism of Bucarest circles naturally excited a certain indignation in the Rumanian capital, yet independent papers like the " Adeverul " were courageous enough to express a certain sympathy. In its issue of 15th May, 1932, the latter journal regrettfully admitted "it is probable that this warning from across the Carpathians will 661

661 have no effect. Not even now, when events in Yugoslavia should serve as a lesson to us."

665 *General Averescu's "People's Party."*—General Averescu had distinguished himself during the war and on its conclusion initiated a campaign demanding the taking of severe sanctions against all those who by their ineptitude or moral falterings had contributed to bring humiliation on Rumania during the war. His appeal rallied to his side the majority of the ex-soldiers, mainly peasants, and this led him to espouse their demand for a rapid distribution of the land among them. He is a determined upholder of an iron-hand policy and it is owing mainly to his advocacy of strong measures that he was called to the government in 1920, at a time when the country was threatened with upheavals brought about by the dilatory fashion in which the allocation of the land to the peasants was being conducted. His maintenance in office for almost two years at the time was due mainly to the support given to him by M. Take Jonescu, who acted as Minister for Foreign Affairs in his Cabinet.

This group is a purely personal côterie and has no enduring connection with any section of the people. Whenever it has assumed office it has done so by support other than that of the people. General Averescu expected that on the return of King Carol II from exile, he would be entrusted with the task of putting things in order in Rumania. But hope deferred has shattered his faith in his sovereign's capacity of discernment, and at last his chagrin at being shunned has led him to take up an uncompromising attitude towards the Crown, against which he has launched a vehement press campaign. Some of his partisans, headed by his former lieutenant Goga, have in consequence receded from the party and have founded a separate political organization. Goga is in intimate relation with the Palace, and it is rumoured that the Iorga-Argentoianu Cabinet may eventually be replaced by a political combination including the triumvirate Goga, Lupu, and Argentoianu

Dr Lupu's Peasant Party.—This is another small personal coterie which for some time had adhered to the National Peasant Party. It is practically of no importance, but by lending its feeble support to reaction it can help to turn the scales against a popular government as was the case with 66 General Averescu's party in 1926. Dr Lupu refutes the imputation levelled against him of being an opportunist and has declared on a memorable occasion that the maxim "the wolf may change his skin but not his habits," was wrongly applied to him. His subsequent conduct, however, belied to a certain extent this solemn declaration which he made in October, 1926. It is to be hoped that he may dispel such misgivings as may exist and show himself in action as staunch a friend of the peasantry as he is in speech. Though his advocacy of inflation and of non-payment of the State's foreign debts is a policy that does not inspire overmuch confidence in his political discernment.

The Socialist and Communist Parties.—These are altogether insignificant and unlikely to exert in influence on the destinies of the country so long as they fail to attract the peasantry within their orbit. . . . A vigorous and well-organized peasant group such as the existing National Peasant party is the safest barrier against Communism.

The Minority Parties.—These have been constituted as a means of defence of the cultural life of the various national minorities in Rumania. Once the cultural life of these finds its desiderata satisfied, the representatives of the minorities would probably be absorbed by the Rumanian political parties, as there would remain no reason for their continuing a separate political existence.

So long, however, as the legitimate aspirations of these are not satisfied, their political representatives will not scruple to strike bargains with any reactionary force through whose patronage they may hope to snatch some particles of the rights which are being denied them. It is surprising that Bucarest politicians should be so obtuse as to fail to perceive how indispensable it is to grant satisfaction to the minorities if they are really intent on effectively disarming reaction in Rumania which so far has found in these groups an ever-ready and potent support.

Anti-Semite organizations presided over by M. A. C. Cuza.—Among these the most important is the L.A.N.C. group (Christian League for National Defence). One may judge of the moral standing of this individual by an article 665 563

665 published in the "Cuvantul" of May 29th, 1927, in which it
563 was reported that the ecclesisatical authorities of Bucovina as well as those of Jassy had refused to collaborate with M. Cuza, because he had converted the club-house of his party at Jassy into a brothel. The paper proceeded to give various unsavoury, as well as pungent, details of the regulations prevailing in this "Christian" League club—regulations, which, according to the "Cuvantul" had been drafted by M. Cuza himself, to the immense benefit of the institution and its "pensionnaires." According to this paper this document serves as a striking testimonial to the organizing capacity possessed by this .... gentleman. M. Cuza has been elected as a deputy and early in October, 1931, he delivered a violent diatribe against the League of Nations; a very inconsiderate proceeding seeing that Rumania's salvation may well depend on the League and the aid of international finance.

THE ETHNIC MINORITIES AND THEIR GRIEVANCES

563 Rumania shares with Czechoslovakia and Esthonia the distinction of treating her ethnic minorities with a spirit of tolerance that speaks much in favour of the Rumanian people, who, as most impartial observers will admit, are distinguished by their kindliness and good humour. Most of the complaints one hears of, and they are numerous, arise mainly from the general maladministration from which all sections of the community suffer, and for this reason it is not the Hungarians, nor the Germans, nor the Bulgarians of the Dobrudja who are most vociferous in their lamentations, but strange to say, the Rumanians of Bessarabia. A whole book could easily be written on their tribulations, and as their woes are representative in an intensified form of those endured by other sections of the community, it may be judicious to dwell on them rather than on grievances specifically formulated by Magyars or Bulgarians, as one will thus avoid the imputation of partiality for the latter.

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642 Without wishing to cast any disparaging reflections on Rumania one cannot help deploring the failure to take

642 563 regional differences into account. The persistent endeavour to create a strong centralization has been accompanied by parallel attempts to choke all natural expression of local life, contributing thereby to the drying up of the springs of national vitality and instilling in the mass of the people a spirit of apathy or of scarcely disguised hostility. Had the reverse policy been adopted, there is little doubt that the various provinces would have fostered local institutions on their own lines, and would have given a better structure to the whole system of administration by providing it with a backbone of local interest and control which it otherwise will continue to lack. At any rate it becomes daily more obvious that the decision taken at Versailles to transfer high-cultured communities completely out of harmony with Rumanian methods to Rumanian rule, without securing for them a certain degree of autonomy, was particularly unfelicitous for their members.

666 563 Whenever general elections are impending, the ethnic minorities are solicited by the various Rumanian parties for their votes, in exchange for which they secure assurances that their aspirations will be completely satisfied. The election over, however, these alluring promises are forgotten, as are also similar electoral pledges made to Rumanian electors. If the hopes of the ethnic minorities were not elated every now and then by such extravagant engagements they would feel less keenly the injustice that had been inflicted on them. As matters stand, Rumanian parliamentary candidates at election time serve to keep this wound open, which, with a little more skilful handling on their part, would have had a better chance of healing.

563 The main grounds for complaints in the case of Hungarians and Germans is the subject of their language. They find that a too exclusive use of the Rumanian tongue is insisted on in the various administrations as well as in the Tribunals, and that their children do not enjoy the same facilities to pursue their studies in their vernacular as when Transylvania formed a part of Hungary. All this is true, but it cannot be gainsaid that the Hungarian and German minorities are infinitely better off than is the German minority in the Italian

563 Tyrol, or the Ukrainians in Poland, for they at least possess
a large number of schools and churches, mainly in communes
[658] in which they form the majority of the population. At a
time when the Rumanian government has been obliged for
reasons of economy to close down several hundreds of schools
and colleges, it would not be fair to impugn it for a shortage
[423] of Magyar schools in Transylvania. The burning grievance,
of course, remains the agrarian reform, not only because it
has dispossessed Hungarian and German owners, but also
because the depreciation of the Rumanian currency has
practically nullified the paltry compensation they were
accorded. Furthermore, religious establishments possessed
extensive domains which likewise were expropriated and
[559] have thereby lost most of their revenues which formerly were
employed in the upkeep of churches, educational missions,
and benevolent societies. This naturally constitutes a source of bitter recriminations, for both Hungarians and Germans are inclined to ascribe the treatment meted out to their religious establishments as dictated by the desire of the Rumanians to discourage their cultural activities, and to hinder the normal development of their nationality by depriving it of pecuniary resources. It is a great pity that so far no law has been framed to define the status of minorities in Rumania though this has been persistently promised them. Such an enactment would formulate once and for all the respective privileges and duties of both parties, and there would be no further grounds for recrimination except in the case of a patent violation of its clauses. The National Peasant party had prepared such a scheme which, if enacted, would have gone a long way to settle this vexed question; unfortunately after its abandonment of power it has apparently been forgotten.

With the advent of the Iorga-Argentoianu government the laudable initiative of creating a sub-secretariat for minorities was taken, to which post, M. Brandsch, a member of the German minority was appointed. He seems to have carried out his duty very conscientiously, as he has repeatedly been attacked by the ultra-nationalist press of Bucarest for his disregard of the superior interest of the Rumanian cause, and for overduly favouring the minorities. There seems to be a determination in government circles to go a long way to satisfy most of the just demands of the minorities and to avoid as much as possible giving cause for irritation; at least Professor Iorga's declarations in the Rumanian Chamber on Dec. 14th, 1931, can be regarded as inspired by a spirit of sincerity and goodwill that constitutes a sure basis for an understanding. Among other things he affirmed: "We have no desire to create hypocritical Rumanians out of minoritarians, for he who renounces his past and sells his soul in order to secure advantages, is no gain to the people to which he transfers his allegiance, but rather a corrosive poison for the soul of that people. We must not frighten the minorities by an oppressive policy on the part of the Rumanian State, and by an absence of fraternal sentiments on their behalf amongst the Rumanian people; for it is not by such means that we shall consolidate our position, but rather by collaborating with the minorities and by respecting their most elementary rights."

Both the Hungarian and the German minorities constitute extremely valuable elements for furthering the general progress of the country, because, standing culturally higher than the Rumanian element in all domains of activity they can serve as examples to the latter. This is particularly noticeable in farming; the German villages especially constituting veritable model farms which have powerfully contributed to [24] the general dissemination of the more advanced agricultural methods used in Transylvania.

This intercourse between these three peoples has reacted very favourably on the Rumanians of Transylvania, who from every point of view stand at a much higher level than their brethren of the old kingdom. In fact, however unpalatable this truth may be to the latter, it must be frankly declared that the main chance of a regeneration in Rumanian political life can come only through a larger participation in it of the Transylvanians, who certainly have a clearer conception of their civic duties than is prevalent south of the Carpathians. The marked pre-eminence of the Transylvanians over other sections of the Rumanian people must be ascribed to their having been in contact with Germans and Hungarians, though the latter by their oppressive methods

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1
Transylvania

523 did little to foster their civic development at the time when Transylvania formed a part of their kingdom, and this has been most lucidly exposed by Dr Seton-Watson in his book, "Corruption and Reform in Hungary." Nevertheless, this intercourse, whatever its momentary drawbacks may have been in the past, has influenced very favourably the Rumanian element, a matter that would seem to confirm once more the theory of Professor Wm. McDougall that "the development of the group spirit in general and of national self-consciousness in particular is favoured by, and indeed dependent upon, conditions similar to those which develop the self-consciousness of individuals, by intuition, by conflict, by compulsion, and by co-operation." (V. "The Group Mind," page 165.)

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662 In general, it may be admitted that the minorities have been more favoured by the Bucarest Government than the Rumanian majority of Transylvania, for the latter, except during the time the Maniu Government was in power, was always in the ranks of the Opposition, and as such it could not reckon on obtaining any bounties, while the support of the minorities was very often secured by the dispensation of various privileges. Even in the economic field the minorities could reckon on a certain financial support which Budapest generously granted to their industrial and banking firms, while corresponding Rumanian establishments in Transylvania were stinted of all help from Bucarest because it was the policy of the Bratianus to stifle every enterprise that had not come within the orbit of the Liberal party, and for this purpose they did not hesitate to employ the most unscrupulous methods.

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666 The Magyar minority is undoubtedly better off than the Rumanians of Transylvania from many points of view, and this is the reason why all Magyar propositions for offering the Hungarian throne to King Carol II have not been viewed favourably at Bucarest. It is felt that the Rumanian population has not yet been able to rise overmuch, from both the cultural as well as the economic point of view, and that it is still dominated by the Magyars. It is felt also that a personal union with Hungary under the common sceptre of a Rumanian King would mean the consolidation of the

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1
Transylvania

supremacy which the Magyar still retains, and such an 563 eventuality is fraught with danger for the Rumanian element 668 in general, as it would tend to recreate a state of affairs similar to that existing before the war. Hungarian advances purporting to bring about the realization of such an eventuality have so far been coldly received, even those made by Count Bethlen to King Carol in person at Temişoara have not evoked a hearty response among Rumanians, either of Transylvania or of the old kingdom. The Magyar pre- 666 ponderance in urban districts of Transylvania became 563 evident by the criticism with which the alteration of the law concerning the election of advisers in the Chambers of Commerce was met in 1929, when all these posts became elective instead of being partially nominatival. It was then reported that in the town of Cluj the Rumanians could count on only 20% in the commercial, and on only 30% in the industrial section of the Chamber, and it was proclaimed that measures ought to be taken to remedy the position of inferiority in which the Rumanian element had been placed, all the more so, since in other commercial and industrial centres, the position of the Rumanians was even worse than at Cluj.

Concerning these reported pourparlers for a personal union 563 between Hungary and Rumania, it may be of interest to 668 record what a Hungarian paper, the "Friss Hirek," published at Cluj, had to say on the meeting which took place at Temişoara between Count Bethlen and King Carol in 1932. In its issue of May 8th, 1932, dilating on this interview it stated among other things :—

"The negotiations concerning the personal union met with complete success and were based on the granting of independence to Transylvania under the leadership of Prince Michael, whose seat would be at Cluj, common Ministers for Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance. These matters were definitely agreed to. King Carol was to take up his residence for six months at Budapest and for six months at Bucarest.

The independence of Transylvania satisfied Count Bethlen as it would solve the minority problem. Transylvanians would enjoy equal rights and the various denominations

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668 would obtain equal grants, while officials would be nominated proportionately to the numbers of each nationality.

Count Bethlen, however, desired to justify the millions spent on the revisionist campaign and demanded the revision of frontiers, namely the retrocession of the Hungarian towns bordering on the frontier (Arad, Oradea-Mare, and Satu Mare). The advisers of King Carol considered that the present frontiers of Rumania were final, and in order that the idea of a personal union be rendered acceptable to the Rumanian people, all reference to a revision of frontiers should be dropped as it was sure to provoke a fiasco, all the more so since the Liberal party was known to be hostile to the idea of a personal union. The Rumanians would accept the scheme only in case Hungary agreed to recognize the actual frontiers without rectification and in exchange for the other concessions. It was on this point that the negotiations came to a standstill. Count Bethlen was bound by engagements towards the revisionist group. According to his conception, only Transylvania was to remain under Rumanian rule as a Duchy, while other parts were to revert to Hungary."

In conclusion the paper stated that "the interview left painful recollections with Count Bethlen who now talks of an alliance with Italy and Austria." 17

The Dobrudja.

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647 If the state of the minorities in Transylvania may be stated to be relatively satisfactory, taking into consideration the general shortcomings of the Rumanian administrative system, it is to be regretted that as much cannot be said of the Dobrudja, where both the Turkish and Bulgarian minorities, living in compact masses, have well-founded grievances. One of the main causes of dissatisfaction has been the ill-considered plan of the Rumanian Government to colonize southern Dobrudja with Kutso-Vlachs from Macedonia. Without making any adequate preparations to provide these people with dwellings, food and clothing, it proceeded to billet them in the small cottages of the Bulgarian and Turkish farmers which were barely sufficient for their owners. The newcomers being destitute, had no alternative to that of

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1
Dobrudja

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a life of rapine, a matter which led to bloody encounters followed by mass arrests of the local population. The latter had been further embittered by the State seizing one-third of their lands, no compensation whatever being given, even in cases of these lands carrying growing crops. Such was the tension that had been created that on the advent of the Maniu government, both M. M. Vaida-Voevod and Mihalache considered it imperative to intervene in order to put a stop to the abuses and the provocations that both Turks and Bulgarians were subjected to. The intercession of the leaders of the National Peasant Party caused extreme ill-feeling in Chauvinist circles which fomented a violent agitation against what was represented as treachery to the Rumanians. This culminated in the assassination of an under-secretary of State by a hot-headed student. The Maniu government had delegated a commission to study on the spot the complaints of the population of the Dobrudja and prepare a report, a summary of which was published in the "Adeverul" of March 4th, 1929. In this we read that "the enterprise of colonizing the Dobrudja had been left without control and had become a means of exploitation and the furthering of personal interests," that the system of quartering the colonists on the Bulgarian and Turkish inhabitants "led to an unbearable state of affairs causing endless conflicts." As for the situation of the colonists, the report shows that the ineptitude of the Rumanian authorities transcends all imagination, "out of 10,000 heads of families only 15 had received monetary help from the government, the lands that were to be allotted to the colonists remained in possession of State functionaries. The colonists had no houses nor timber wherewith to construct them." As a consequence of this report the Maniu Government created a special commissariat for building houses for the colonists, 1,257 of which were built in 1929, 938 during 1930, and 1,200 in the course of 1931, at an average cost of 44,000 lei each.

The situation, unfortunately has not improved, and murders of Turks and Bulgarians by the Kutso-Vlachs are frequent. What is most regrettable is that they are left practically unpunished, as has been the case with the murderer of one of the leaders of the Bulgarian minority, the

[166] late C. M. Stephanov, who was also a member of the 657 Rumanian Senate. The main cause of the effervescence that 563 still subsists is this ill-advised scheme of planting the destitute [647] Kutso-Vlachs on the farms of the aboriginal inhabitants, proof of which has been given by M. Georoceanu in a booklet he has published. M. Georoceanu was formerly a member of the Rumanian Senate during M. Maniu's tenure of office.

It may be added that the Bulgarians complain of not [658] having a single school in their villages, and that when they presented petitions for opening such their signatories had [659] been prosecuted. Bulgarian priests are no longer allowed to be nominated, and those that still remain are being gradually replaced by Rumanians who officiate naturally in their own language which is not understood by their flocks. A lesser [204] wrong which receives the condemnation only of the intellectuals, is the ban on Bulgarian newspapers and periodicals. Their introduction into Rumania is prohibited, and though a few months ago the Bucarest press announced that this embargo would be raised, yet as late as April, 1932 the police authorities in the Dobrudja had received no intimation of 563 this commendable measure. It is obvious that all these 648 grievances could easily be removed with a little goodwill on 657 the part of the Rumanian government, and to the westerner it is incomprehensible that the latter should make no effort to safeguard the happiness of hundreds of thousands of human beings whose destiny has been entrusted to its hands. For it is not only the elementary duty of a government to care for its subjects, but in this case even political reasons dictate the following of a more humane and civilized policy. The bulk of the population being Bulgarian, and having for forty years enjoyed an independent existence, is utterly unaccustomed to such maladministration as it is now experiencing. It is therefore natural that it should be soliciting the intercession of the Bulgarian government under whose suzerainty it lived until recently. This is a course that creates friction between the two governments, keeps open an old sore, and embitters and strains relations between Bulgaria and Rumania. The former country would incur every sacrifice in order to ensure Rumania's friendship, and

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumanja ED1
Dobrudja
Bessarabia

it is most regrettable that Rumania, on account of this consti- 563
tutional impassibility from which she suffers, should neglect 657
the accomplishment of a simple duty that would simul- 648
taneously ensure the pacification of a province and the friendship of a neighbouring State. Even Sir Ian Hamilton in one of his books extended this advice to Rumania: "If she values her life let her make it up with Bulgaria whilst she is in the gate." (The Friends of England, p. 130). But so far this soldierly exhortation has not been heeded.

Bessarabia.

"Twelve years of Rumanian rule has alienated Bess- 563
arabia more than a century of Russian administration,"
declared Constantine Stere, the veteran Bessarabian poli- 647
tician who may be considered as the mouthpiece of the population of that hapless region. If one wishes indeed, to form an idea of what the combined evils of corruption, ineptitude, nepotism, and inefficiency can bring upon a land he should visit Bessarabia. It is a standing disgrace, a festering sore, a danger point that will cause a fresh conflagration the moment the Russians across the Dniester can divert their attention from their economic plans to engage in world politics. Such is the desperation of the local population, their utter aversion to Rumanian misrule, the pessimism with which they regard every scheme emanating from Bucarest, that if the Russians would decide to cross the Dniester they would be hailed as liberators.

Not that the Bessarabians cherish any particular affection for the Russians and for communistic dogmas, but because there is after all a limit to human endurance to evils arising from such glaring maladministration. There is no hope for any amelioration; the Bucarest administration has demonstrated its incapacity to reform itself, and the only hope there may be of placating Bessarabia is the granting of a regional autonomy that may save her from casting longing glances at Bolshevik Russia across the Dniester. As the writer does not wish to be accused of exaggeration or of being imbued with unfriendly feelings towards Rumania, he will proceed to give a description of the position in Bessarabia by an interpolation of various excerpts culled from newspapers that he

363 647 bought at random during his brief stays in Rumania. These quotations have not been specially selected and they may be considered as generally descriptive of what is being said on Bessarabia in the Rumanian press. If one were to study the latter assiduously there is no doubt that a vast quantity of incriminating matter could easily be adduced to form a most damning indictment of the incapacity of Rumanian governments.

661 563 647 " Lupta," Dec. 8th, 1931 :—After the union,[1] the men who were most compromised were dispatched there[2] to work for the spiritual unification of the nation; at any rate they were individuals utterly incapable of understanding the ideal or the scope of the mission which had been confided to them. The administrative authorities were constituted entirely of the scum of the political parties of the old kingdom. It is to these social dregs that the errand of infusing into the Bessarabians a sentiment of confidence in us was entrusted. How they fulfilled this mission, how they alienated even those who trusted us, is well known. Bessarabia was and remains a sort of land of promise for those desirous to grow rich quick . . . not by honest means . . . after a self-imposed exile accepted solely for this purpose. Enrichment being the sole initial and final aim of these propagandists sent out from the old kingdom, they inaugurate a state of affairs which conforms with their pursuits. Persecutions of all sorts, inquisitorial constraints of all manifestations of collective and individual liberty. All corners of Bessarabia were represented as fertile for the culture of Bolshevism. For thirteen years we have heard of nothing else concerning this province save terrorist plots and communist actions all purporting to aim at the dissolution of the Rumanian State. Those interested, created purposely a state of affairs that completely denaturalized existing facts and finally succeeded in imposing their conception on "the administrative machinery of Bessarabia," &c. The paper concludes by relating how workmen and intellectuals are persecuted, imprisoned, subjected to all sorts of vexations by the Rumanian authorities at Kichineff and at other urban centres.

The " Cuvantul " of Feb. 20th, 1929, designates Bessarabia as " the sick man of Rumania." The Bratianu

[1] [of Bessarabia with Rumania – Analyst] [2] [Bessarabia – Analyst]

régime had consummated Bessarabia's ruin, and its people 563
were dying of hunger. The irruption of the Rumanian army 647
was not the triumphal arrival of a liberator but the invasion 661
of a hunger-stricken horde. The requisitions for obtaining supplies both for the army and for the population of Moldavia, on account of the haste and disorder with which they were carried out, assumed the aspect of revolting spoliations and led the natives to ask "what sort of brothers are these hogs and these robbers?"

"Our army's attitude was both offensive and aggressive, in conformity with the usages of war, in short, that of an army of occupation in an enemy country. When the time came to organize the civil administration of Bessarabia, very few of the regular functionaries agreed to be transferred to a remote and unsafe province. . . . Adventurers, those who had nothing to lose and who were under the threat of being dismissed or imprisoned, accepted to join in this "campaign to Siberia" in the hope of being rehabilitated or of becoming rich. For a long time the transfer of a civil functionary to Bessarabia was considered as a redoubtable disciplinary sanction. . . . ."

"The Bessarabians have found out what elements we can contribute to the restoration of their former material prosperity. These are poverty, demoralization, political debauchery, a decade of violence, fraud and illegality. Hence the permanent hostility with which they regard us; a state of irritability which is maintained owing to the prevailing wretchedness."

The main responsibility for this astounding state of affairs 665
should be ascribed to the Bratianus, who inaugurated and 576
maintained this system for ten years. When finally they were ejected from office, their Bessarabian partisans began to quarrel among themselves and attack most virulently their former regional leader, M. Inculeț. They started a paper called "The Voice of Bessarabia" in 1929, in which their former leaders were denounced as vulgar and dangerous adventurers, robbers and criminals. As for their former local chief Inculeț, he was accused of having retired to Jassi in order to enjoy in peace the thousands of millions he had accumulated by a triple betrayal of Russia, Bessarabia, and

665 Rumania. The paper concluded by an exhortation addressed
576 to Bessarabians to evict Inculeţ from the political arena of
Bessarabia where he had operated as though this region had
been an African colony, and the appeal concluded with the
hortatory incitation "Eject this putrefaction from Bessarabia."

In spite of the severe financial crisis which afflicted this
651 region, the fiscal agents of the government insisted on
563 collecting taxes even when in years of drought the peasantry
661 was destitute and utterly unable to pay. The methods
employed were so barbarous that they provoked several
interpellations in the Rumanian Chamber. During its sitting
of Dec. 10th, 1926, M. V. Madgearu denounced the abusive
and inquisitorial methods by which Bessarabian tax-payers
had been sold up and his arraignment was confirmed by
similar indictments formulated by a member of the (then)
government majority.

423 In October, 1930, a revolt broke out in southern Bess-
563 arabia. The peasants of the village of Baimaklia, near the
town of Kagui, revolted and burned down the residence of a
661 big landowner because certain grazing lands were given to
him by the State instead of being distributed among the
peasants. That similar abuses are current may be inferred
from an article in the "Aurora" of June 3rd, 1926, which is
headed "The pauperization and humiliation of the Bessarabians," and in which it is related how certain State lands
were put up for sale at Balţi, and though the peasantry of
six adjoining villages had combined and offered 400,000 lei
more than three big landowners, the lands were allocated to
the latter, obviously through favouritism. That State functionaries often act with an arbitrariness and brutality
563 inconceivable in a civilized State may be illustrated by
661 the Soroca affair, which is of quite recent occurrence.
In January, 1932, six Jewish youths, inhabitants of Soroca,
on the Dniester, after coming to terms with the frontier-guards as to the amount of the bribe they would have to pay
to be allowed to escape into Russia, and after they had paid
40,000 lei, were ambuscaded and shot down. In order to
instil terror into the local population, their bodies were
hurled pell-mell on a sledge which was driven by a soldier

sitting on the corpses through the streets of Soroca and conveyed to the mortuary. Such barbarous conduct naturally aroused bitter indignation which was re-echoed in the Bucarest press and was qualified "as a premeditated massacre," and the Rumanian Government was severely censured for providing Russia by such acts, good motives for anti-Rumanian propaganda. ("Adeverul" 10th Jan. 1932.) Such cases do not seem to be rare, for the same journal in its issue for the 20th Jan. reports the perpetration of a similar outrage at Balţi, when two persons were shot down by the frontier guards after they had secured their tacit permission to cross into Soviet Russia. It is obvious that if Russia exerts such a magnetic attraction on the Bessarabians as to incite them to abandon their belongings, disburse considerable sums in tolls, and endanger their lives in order to gain admittance to what they consider a haven of comparative repose, conditions in Bessarabia must be truly unendurable. At any rate the Iorga-Argentoianu Government has not so far shown any disposition to grapple more vigorously than its predecessors in office with this aggravating question of Bessarabian maladministration; on the contrary it has followed meekly in the footsteps of its predecessors. Thus, in the "Adeverul" for Jan. 28th, 1932, we read of a protest of Bessarabian intellectuals who denounced the favouritism shown by the Government for two of its political friends, who, after being munificently supplied with funds, were dispatched to Bessarabia in order to start the publication of a newspaper whose ostensible object was the spreading of Rumanian culture in that province. This dilapidation of government funds in favour of "budgetivorous" persons having no connection whatever with Bessarabia was strongly resented by Bessarabian intellectuals, who deemed themselves the sole persons qualified to carry on such propaganda in what they considered as their private domain. Bucarest governments have always shown themselves incapable of facing grave questions seriously, and one ought not to be surprised at their dalliance with the question of Bessarabia. Their latest device for placating the Bessarabians was to create two new Under-Secretaries of State and fill these posts with natives of Bessarabia. "The new system,"

563 ironically remarked the "Adeverul," "of dealing with
661 the woes of Bessarabia consists of appointing a Minister for Bessarabia at Bucarest, while a Bessarabian whose sole qualification is that of having published a book of poems is nominated to the post of Under-Secretary of State to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. This is the government's conception of putting a stop to the agitation in Bessarabia, but alas ! the satisfaction of two vanities does not mean that the problems appertaining to the region between the Pruth and the Dniester are approaching solution."

In another article the "Adeverul" takes the Government to task for creating fresh sinecures and sarcastically exclaims that Bessarabia must be happy since she has now two ministers. The Government felt constrained to declare that these two new posts would not create a very heavy additional charge on the budget as it had arranged that the Governor of Bessarabia would give up his salary to his new colleague, but the "Adeverul" retorted that if the Governor gave up his salary, he being a general, would draw a pension, so that there would still be an increase in expenditure, all the more so, since a salary had to be provided for the new Under-Secretary to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry. That the creation of posts for new under secretaries of State is highly unpopular may be seen from a report of a sitting of the Senate early in April, 1932, when Senator Banescu formally demanded the abolition of five such posts declaring that it was a shame to create new charges when the State had not the means wherewith to pay its pensioners. The Opposition was reported to have loudly applauded him, shouting "it is tragic, people are dying of hunger."

433 The dissatisfaction existing in Bessarabia has been intensified through the economic crisis which had become endemic in that province since its separation from Russia, and which the Rumanian authorities so far have done nothing to alleviate or to assuage. Bessarabia was one of the most fertile and productive provinces of the Russian Empire, the latter providing a ready market for Bessarabian produce. Its orchards and vineyards were famous and provided annually some 28,800 tons of fruit of a value of 5 milliard

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1
Bessarabia

lei which was absorbed by Russia. Through the latter 433 country an annual surplus of over a million tons of cereals was also marketed, as an excellent network of railway lines connected Odessa and the chief towns of Russia with Bessarabia. Further, under the Russian régime credit facilities 452 were obtainable and a capital of some 10 million roubles or 10 milliard lei was at the disposal of the agriculturalists, while now it is reckoned that the Rumanian banks do not dispose of even 1½ milliard lei for this purpose, and in spite of the fact that the present requirements of the population are incomparably greater, since with the breaking up of the large estates, it was indispensable to provide the peasantry with funds wherewith they might buy implements and cattle for their farms.

It would appear that any civilized government, however 489 vague its conception of its duty might be, would have proceeded to endow this province with a network of roads and railways to aid the population by thus facilitating the transport of its produce to the ports, since Odessa, the former outlet, is no longer available for this purpose. But strange to say, the Rumanian authorities have done nothing whatever; though even the construction of a few short connecting lines permitting a partial reorientation of the existing railway tracks and the construction of a grain elevator at the Danubian town of Reni would have gone a long way to relieve the strain. Even the deepening of the bed of the Pruth as far as Ungheni might have provided cheaper transport facilities to a large percentage of the available grain, which was often left to rot in the fields because overland transport charges, in the absence of roads, were found prohibitive.

Even out of mere solicitude for the safety of the State the Rumanian government ought to have provided means of communication whereby its army might in an emergency be concentrated on an ever-exposed frontier, in a region where a perpetual state of war exists. But even this weighty consideration has not sufficed to rouse the Bucarest Government from its self-complacency. There are, of course, persons 668 who would explain the continual agitation brewing in Bess- 177 arabia and the predilection of its inhabitants for Russian rule by the assertion that these dunces of Moldovans (as the

668 177 Bessarabians are popularly called) forming the most backward section of the Rumanian people are mentally incapable of appreciating at their true value all the qualities which the Rumanian administration exhibits in its conduct towards populations whose goodwill it has set out to win. For the organs of the Rumanian State are inspired by a high purpose, that of converting these Moldovans of Bessarabia into loyal Rumanians, by inculcating in them a consciousness of the collective national will. When they shall finally see eye to eye with the various cultural missionaries which Bucarest has so far dispatched for their edification, then at last will loyalty and love follow, for loyalty after all is but the consciousness of oneness, and it is this consciousness of oneness that the Bucarest "Kulturträger" are attempting to impress on the Bessarabians.

668 These altruistic efforts, however, seem unavailing, for in January, 1932, a pan-Bessarabian congress of all parties and creeds was held at Kichineff, and delegates resolved to create a united Bessarabian front so as to impose on the Government which had done nothing for this province since its union with Rumania, the taking of certain measures designed to ameliorate the situation. M. Batsaria, a veteran Rumanian journalist, commenting on this congress in the "Adeverul" stated that a member of the cabinet had confided to him that this discontent was not peculiar to Bessarabia, but existed in all the new provinces. An atmosphere, which was in no way favourable to the realization of a complete spiritual unity among the inhabitants of Great Rumania had been created. And so long as the legitimate rights of all were not respected, and their just grievances remained unredressed, so long would unity be unattained.

The Jews.

[162] 563 641 The Jewish minority numbers some 800,000 souls (according to Winckler's racial statistics, 778,094) who are mainly concentrated in the urban districts of Bessarabia, Moldavia, Bucovina, and the province of Maramureş. As petty trading, commerce and, to a large extent, banking is in their hands, all the more important towns have a numerous Jewish element in their population. The manifest disinclination of the Rumanians for commerce has permitted the

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1
Jews

Jewish element to gain a place of importance in the life of the 563 community, which has unfortunately provoked the resent- 641 ment and jealousy of their Christian co-nationals and created a Jewish problem in Rumania. To counteract their economic influence they were refused political rights by the Rumanian Constitution of 1866, and though the Congress of Berlin obtained the abolition of this law, such obstacles were placed in the way of Jews wishing to acquire naturalization that only a few hundreds succeeded in obtaining this privilege by 1914. According to the Treaty for the Protection of Minorities which Rumania finally signed, the Rumanian nationality is conferred on all Jews in Rumania. The Jews have not 665 followed the example of the Magyars and Germans, who 563 have created political parties of their own, yet prejudice against them is pretty strong and has led to the formation of political groups which are purely anti-Semitic. The supporters of anti-Semitism are mainly recruited among students, and the universities have often been the scenes of ruthless and barbarous acts of violence. The leaders of the anti-Semitic leagues are unscrupulous individuals, who by pandering to the lowest instincts of the mob see a way to secure personal advantages for themselves. Thus the chief henchman of Cuza, the anti-Semitic leader, an individual named Codreanu, gained notoriety by shooting the Police Prefect of Jassi while the latter was doing his duty in suppressing a pogrom that had been organized in the capital of Moldavia.

The Jewish problem is purely economic, and this is the 554 reason why student circles are so anxious to impose the 563 " numerus clausus " in the Rumanian universities. They wish to eliminate potential rivals in the liberal professions as far as they possibly can. In many of these the Jewish element has certainly distinguished itself, especially in law and in medicine. Rumanian youth feels that the prominent position Jews hold in society is a serious obstacle to its advancement, and the methods adopted to eliminate this hindrance are certainly not always commendable. It should be added, however, that where Jews do not exist other races occupy their place, so that it is always the non-Rumanian elements which fill the more lucrative posts in the urban

554 districts. Thus in the Banat, and Transylvania, the Germans
and Magyars dominate commerce and industry and Magyar
563 influence has been so powerful that it has practically
assimilated the Jews. In the lower Danubian ports and
at Constantsa, it is the Greeks and Armenians who
form the largest section of the commercial community,
though in certain Danubian ports the Jewish element
predominates.

461 These facts would tend unequivocally to show that the
Rumanians do not possess the necessary perseverance that is
indispensable for those who desire to engage in commerce.
It would appear, too, that the French educational system
which they have adopted helps to foster a contempt for all
occupations which are not purely intellectual, and for these
reasons Rumanians who claim to have received some degree
of education look askance on all manual work. This apparent
565 aversion for commerce explains to a certain extent the
absence of a Rumanian middle class, an absence which
ought to be remedied, for the country is deprived of a useful
steadying element which is indispensable for its normal
development. As things are, it possesses a small superficial
leading class, that cannot be said to compensate by its
quality for its lack of quantity, and a huge mass of almost
illiterate peasants that lags far behind. The example of
565 Russia proves the danger that exists for a community which
563 shows such an unstable equilibrium of classes. A solution
of the problem would consist in attracting the Jews from the
occupations to which they have hitherto been restricted.
The Jewish problem in Russia has been solved by adapting
the Jews to industry and agriculture. An exceedingly instructive
and interesting article entitled "Soviet Russia
solves the Jewish Problem," from the pen of Mr Wm. Zukerman,
and published in the "Contemporary Review" for
Dec., 1931, may well supply useful hints for Rumania.
There is no doubt that if the Jews in Rumania enjoyed
greater freedom of action they would not concentrate all
their activities on commerce, and they would thereby offer
to Rumanians more possibilities and better opportunities to
engage in trade than they now possess.

INNER GLIMPSES OF THE ADMINISTRATION.

It is with no desire to cast discredit on the Rumanians that 000 the following political happenings related in this chapter are being published, but with the intent of giving, judging from the past, a rough idea of the mentality of the ruling classes and what may be expected of them in the future. It would be utterly unfair if we were to judge them after our western conceptions and by accepting our standard of morality as a criterion. "The moral standards of a people are evolved in correspondence with the practical needs of that people" wrote our distinguished philosopher, the late L. T. Hobhouse, in his remarkable treatise "Mind in Evolution," and the auspices under which Rumania evolved were peculiarly unpropitious if we are to judge from Dr. Seton Watson's weighty pronouncement that "the Phanariot régime reduced the national and religious life of the peninsula to utter stagnation and has left its corroding mark upon the politics of every Balkan nation." ("Europe in the Melting-pot.") And the Phanariot influence was more deep rooted and 565 lasting in Rumania than in any other country in South- 641 Eastern Europe. 661 In all these countries except Rumania it was a transient phenomenon, it was a virus which thought it had inculcated its poison deep within the tissues of the native plant, yet nevertheless, owing to the inherent qualities of the latter, the scourge was tenaciously fought and was being slowly eliminated. But in Rumania, unfortunately, the bane went much deeper, for the Phanariots and their retainers had come in their thousands and settled in the country for good, and their numerous descendants form to-day the *élite* of the ruling classes of the old kingdom. The basic conception of the State held by the Phanariot was that it was the best and shortest avenue to personal advancement and enrichment. He applied and lived by the maxim of his Turkish patron of yore:

> "Dovleten mali denŭz
> Yemeyen onou domŭz,"

which may be translated by "the goods of the State are as vast as the sea, and he who does not help himself to them is no better than a pig."

000 no better than a pig." If we take into consideration that according to L. T. Hobhouse "the whole system of moral tradition governing the life of a society is evolved from the practical impulses and feelings at work in the past and present," we may easily comprehend that the aspects of social life as revealed by current events in Rumania, show a natural process which could not be altered or deflected except by titanic efforts of re-education. We have no right, therefore, to blame the Rumanians for what we may consider to be grave lapses, but which they prefer to interpret differently, for after all, as A. R. Wallace affirms in his "Social Environment and Moral Progress," "morality is not wholly due to any inherent perception of right or wrong conduct, but is to some extent a matter of convention varying with the degree and kind of social development attained." And this opinion is confirmed by L. T. Hobhouse, who, in his book "Morals in Evolution" states "the instinctive in human morality is by no means an unfailing power implanted by nature in all men to distinguish right from wrong."
461 Rumanian youth continues to cherish the traditional
565 Phanariot ambition of enriching itself through access to a public post; other careers are neglected and looked askance at. They are left to the more enterprising Jewish element, which owing to its energy and capacity has taken complete control of Rumanian trade and banking. Through the neglect of the commercial professions, Rumanians have hampered the formation of a middle class which, more than any other element, is conducive to the creation of stability
647 and a vigilant public opinion. The public functionary class
465 is an unstable element, and as it enjoys no security of office but depends for its tenure on the favours of politicians in
661 power, it naturally follows that it easily lends itself to corruption, and all the more so seeing that it is disgracefully underpaid. In a lettter published by the "Argus" on 16th May, 1932, it was averred that the number of public functionaries amounted to 500,000. (Including the staff employed by municipalities). The number could easily be halved, and the administration would stand to gain both in efficiency and thoroughness by such a reduction. Greece, with a population amounting to one-third that of Rumania, had a

total of only 43,943 functionaries (exclusive of those 647 employed by municipalities. Even this figure was con- 465 sidered excessive, and a decree was enacted prohibiting 661 for a series of years the creation of fresh posts and the nomination of new functionaries to vacant posts in order that their number might be reduced. In Rumania such a measure is hardly likely to be enacted, for every politician must have the possibility of providing the more important of his electors with sinecures, for otherwise how would he induce them to vote for him? This is how the principle of public solidarity is understood and applied ! Amongst us, state functionaries are considered as the servants of the public, in fact their function is revealed by the appellation under which they are designated; they are, in fact as well as in name, public servants. Rumanian functionaries are, one must admit, on the whole both courteous and obliging, especially to strangers, but such services as are rendered must be requited. Since the State barely remunerates them, it is obvious they have to secure their means of livelihood somewhere. Of course no tariff is posted up in Government offices as to the amount of pecuniary compensation expected for the services demanded; *that* is a matter left to the discretion of the person soliciting the service, but a solatium of some sort has to be given to the functionary, as otherwise you will be made to feel the tediousness of waiting in a usually stuffy office. It is not surprising that such methods have gradually evinced probity from amongst the administrative personnel and made room for a venality which is occasionally exhibited so brazenly as to impel such an attentive observer as Mr Charles Wood to declare "there is nobody and nothing in Rumania who and which cannot be bought with money." (Contemporary Review, February, 1921.) Though the country teems with acts of maladministration there are yet many excellent, honest and plodding functionaries, who are all the more meritorious since they are neither properly remunerated nor encouraged for their loyal service to the State. This proves that if the Civil Service was placed beyond the withering influence of politics, stability of occupation guaranteed, and decent remuneration offered, a remedy for the ills which afflict Rumania would easily be devised. There

647 are certainly no insuperable obstacles to the removal of what
466 constitutes a drain on the strength and probity of the country,
661 which is being visibly weakened in every sphere of
administration.

The following article, which was published in the "Lupta" of Dec. 17th, 1931, is instructive as to the manner in which public functionaries behave in order to supplement the scanty salary they draw from the State and which generally does not suffice to keep them alive.

647 It is obvious that no civilized State would tolerate methods
651 which in Rumania are benevolently winked at. There is no
499 doubt that the evil could easily be remedied if functionaries
were decently paid. The increased outlay for the State
661 which this would involve would be largely compensated by a
more conscientious performance of duty by the administrative staff. For instance, it is well known that owing to the high duties in force, smuggling on a colossal scale is being carried on with the connivance of officials, with the result that the State is defrauded of millions. M. V. Madgearu, former Minister of Finances, openly admits it in his book "Rumania's New Economic Policy," published in English, on page 39 of which we come across this astounding statement: "It has been shown that while pre-war Rumania imported about 70,000 kilos of natural silk, united Rumania registered the importation of only 1,000 kilos in 1927. It is well understood that the rest has been imported through smuggling." On a rough computation this item alone would account for an annual loss of some 50 million lei to the revenue.

But, apparently, blackmail is even more lucrative than smuggling, according to the article referred to in the "Lupta":—

647 "Truly, *smuggling* constitutes a source of big revenues for
651 the State. Not bona-fide smuggling which involves the
introduction of goods into the country without the disburse-
661 ment of duties. This latter sort of smuggling is never discovered, or if discovered is rapidly hushed up with the connivance of the ablest pillars of the Ministry. The principal sources of revenue from smuggling are derived from the hypothetical variety, when for instance an anony-

mous letter of denunciation reaches the Ministry concerning 647
a commercial or industrial firm. This is immediately followed 651
by a close investigation of the firm's books. Though no 661
trace of contraband may have been found, yet rumours of high fines to be imposed on this firm get into circulation. Its owners make desperate efforts to dissipate them. The firm's bank announces that its overdraft will be suspended until the matter is cleared up. The merchant who cannot wait for a judicial examination of the charge brought against him, nor engage in protracted discussions with the Ministry, finding his credit at the bank has been suspended, endeavours to strike a bargain. He will offer 10%, occasionally even only 1% of the amount of the fine with which he has been threatened. The State pockets 80% of the sum thus offered and the zealous inspector who has "discovered" the reported contraband appropriates the remaining 20%. Why should these sums indeed be rejected? Such tactics, when employed by a clever functionary or inspector, will soon allow him to become the owner of palaces and buildings in the capital. Such is the just reward of labour!"

And in conclusion the "Lupta" advises the Ministry of Finance as to the measures it ought to take to prevent merchants from suffering unduly from the blackmailing activities of its financial inspectors!

That blackmailing and extortion are not unusual practices 647
may be inferred from the following announcement appearing
in a Bucarest daily on 15th March, 1929:—"The tribunal of 661
Cluj having received an endless number of complaints and 697
denunciations against Lieut.-Colonel Mihai, of the gendarmery, lately occupying the post of Police-Prefect at Cluj during the Liberal régime, has transmitted them to the judicial procurator. The investigations which are being pursued prove that the charges are well founded and that this Liberal terrorist had extorted moneys through blackmail from high class people while he was police prefect in the capital of Transylvania. Those who suffered most from the exercise of the functions of the accused (sic), were merchants, who, if they failed to deliver to the prefect the sums or goods demanded, were subjected to tortures and heavy fines and were threatened with the closing of their

647 shops and the confiscation of their goods." The most sensa-
697 tional administrative affair in Rumania was undoubtedly that of the prison scandals of 1926, which gave rise to lively
661 press comments throughout the continent and thanks to which the author of these scandals won widespread notoriety.

The following details concerning the methods in vogue in penitentiaries were given by the Bucarest "Socialismul" on May 16, 1926, on the occasion of the reported arrest of the notorious Cernat. . . . . "Directors and warders, seeking to grow rich rapidly, divide among themselves the moneys destined for the prisons. They appropriate both the food and the clothing set apart for those under arrest, they extort money from those better off, receive bribes in exchange for privileges, or force prisoners to work for them. The arrest of Major Cernat, who was appointed Director-General of Prisons while awaiting his appointment as Chief of the State Police Service, is no satisfaction for us. For we know that this man will be as well off in prison as at his home. We know further that in a few weeks or in a few months he will walk out free, with his head erect, for in our well-ordained country a big swindler has never been condemned or imprisoned, indeed it would be a crying injustice were such a thing to happen, since all our rulers have made their fortunes by similar dishonest practices."

691 The "Aurora" of June 3rd, 1926, reported the arrest of the directors of the penitentiaries of Doftana and Galatz, and gave details concerning the sums embezzled by these worthies. The system of imprisonment inaugurated by these clever rogues, however, deserves being enlarged upon as it is both amusing and illuminating. The following lucid and jocund report appeared in the French newspaper "Paris-Midi" on 17th June, 1926:—

"The Thousand and one joys of Rumanian Prisons."

"Bucarest. June 17th. Major Cernat, Director-General of Rumanian prisons, as well as the directors of several other penitentiary establishments, have been arrested. They are accused of failing to carry out their duties and of having shown too great indulgence towards the prisoners. Bucarest newspapers publish astounding details following on the inquiry ordered last week throughout all the prisons of the kingdom by the Minister of the Interior.

Galatz, the paradise of prisoners.

The most typical example of these queer Rumanian prisons in which incarceration is only relative, is Galatz.

Prisoners had the possibility of communicating with the outside world on payment of a small sum, but if a larger bribe was given to the Director, which in justice was more important for the wealthier prisoners, permission could be obtained to leave the prison so that urgent affairs might be attended to. When an even larger gratification was forthcoming, the administration would benevolently overlook even an absence of several days. One of the prisoners who had been able to win the goodwill of the penitentiary staff lived practically in freedom in a room he had hired in town. He was tactful enough to turn up at times and spend an hour in prison chatting with the warders so that his presence might be recorded. Another inmate of the establishment, on whom the severity of the law had imposed a sojourn of five years, made use of such persuasive arguments that he was able solemnly to celebrate his marriage in the cathedral of that town and peacefully enjoy his honeymoon. So far as the small fry were concerned, on whom weighed sentences of a few months, they figured nominally only on the registers of the prison.

The pretty servants of the compassionate Director.

The judicial authorities had already protested against Dr Cocea's behaviour, but such sanctions as had been ordered were never applied, owing to Major Cernat's intervention on behalf of this tender-hearted official. A curious figure indeed, this Dr Cocea, who had no scruples for old-fashioned conventions ! The judicial inquiry established that in the prison, the rigours of which he knew so well how to mitigate, this Director had engaged some young girl servants of exceptional beauty, whose only business consisted in setting off by their presence and graceful deportment the brilliant charm of the parties fines to which he invited the distinguished guests who were in his custody. But alas! implacable Jus-

691 tice could not comprehend this 'artist of the grand style,' who obviously stood above common-place regulations!"

671 Disrespect for the law is pretty general in high circles in Rumania, for there are two weights and measures, and it is only the lowly who are made to feel the heavy hand of the law when it strikes them. This is due to the reciprocal toleration among the political parties of legal infractions which "de facto" have abrogated ministerial responsibility.

In fact peculation and misappropriation of funds are considered as mere peccadilloes. Interference in this practice is strongly resented, thus, in 1927, when one of the regents, the Patriarch Miron Christea, evinced a desire to investigate into the stewardship of the Minister of the Interior, strongly suspected of having misappropriated several million lei, he was severely reproved and given to understand that it was no business of his.

Commenting on the utter disregard of law by politicians, the "Argus" of March 3rd, 1929, wrote:—

"A real new era, a true revolution in our spirit and our customs as well as in our public life will dawn only on the day when penal responsibility for illegalities, abuses and frauds committed by our rulers will be enforced as provided in the Constitution and the special law of 1879. The threat of penalties will constitute the most effective check on the abusive use of authority and the personal dishonesty of partisans."

As a check to the frauds perpetrated, a bill was submitted to the Chamber in April, 1932 providing for the control of fortunes of functionaries and other State dignitaries. Fears were expressed in the Press, however, that such a bill would never be passed and that eventually it would either be emasculated by the Chamber, or rejected by the Senate. The inspirer of this proposal was M. Mihalache; his party, however, had showed no haste to pass such a bill into law while it was in office.

000 In such an environment, integrity and good faith are finally discarded, for they are taken as tokens of mental dullness, while such respect as may still subsist is transformed into servility. The absence of higher spiritual ideals leads to a craving for more material enjoyments and the latter to an

insatiable passion for the means wherewith they may be 000
secured.

Venomous rivalries are engendered and mortal envies 662
excited in the pursuit of such narrow and base aims. Antagonism between political men in Rumania is bitter and uncompromising because they are brought into mutual conflict by personal motives. They are always absorbed in their ambitions and grievances, and they reject all compromise, ready as they are to destroy if possible their opponents, for to them they naturally ascribe the same base motives by which they themselves are impelled. As they are seldom inspired by loyalty and devotion to any higher ideal they cannot recognize that their antagonists may pursue other than purely egoistic motives. Hence the intolerance and bitterness of the feuds among political factions.

In such an environment it is the unscrupulous and the 661
unprincipled who float to the top, and by a system of 565
alliances between big business and political bosses that smacks of American methods, the whole machinery of State is attuned to the express purpose of exploiting the masses for the benefit of the oligarchy at the head of affairs. No wonder that such methods check the vitality and the progress of any society within which they should happen unfortunately to appear, all the more so since there is a tendency to perpetuate themselves and become a permanent system.

Professor E. A. Ross, of Wisconsin, in his "Social 000
Psychology," says: "The men society allows to succeed and to be honoured are taken as models by the rising generation. It is in this that society receives its just punishment when it allows bad men to float to the top. Being imitated by the young, they spread their virus throughout the social body. Not the crook in the alley is the greater menace, but the crook in office."

Corruption has been instilled from above and it is hopeless to expect salvation from these upper strata of Rumanian society so far as the old kingdom is concerned. Transylvania, the cradle of the Rumanian people, which fortunately has not been contaminated by the Phanariot taint may perhaps prove the source from which eventually there may be regeneration from below by helping to reopen the sluices and

000 letting in the flow of the great body of people to the offices of government.

642 But there are those of course who mistrust democracy and 668 who would prefer to seek renovation by other methods. Corruption among the political parties in Serbia prepared the way to the dictatorship. A similar trend has been discernible lately in Rumania, and among the exponents of despotism we find university professors such as M. Paul Negulescu. In his "Treatise of Rumanian administrative law," the second volume of which appeared late in 1930, we read that "most of the politicians being incompetent, and occupying high posts thanks to party influence, sympathize with men of similar mentalities, and look askance at men of independent character. . . . By the intervention of politicians in the administration its personnel is demoralized, as also by the creation of sinecures for party friends." The author proceeds to demonstrate that the authority of the State is compromised by such habits and indicates as a remedy . . . . a Government appointed by the King and responsible solely to him.

Political corruption brings grist to the fascist mill, scandals and incompetence are adduced as justifying the adoption of another system of government. The following article, which appeared in the " Epoca " for Oct. 24th, 1930, a newspaper with conservative traditions, reveals how gravely the system of parliamentary government has been undermined by the dishonest practices of Rumanian politicians :—"The task of reconstruction was incontestably easier for Rumania than for other States. First, owing to the similarity of race, language and religion in the annexed provinces, and secondly, owing to the immense resources possessed by our country.

Thanks to odious and dishonest party politics we have lived through an era of continuous descent into wretchedness more and more acute. Every party that has acceded to office has left behind it an abyss of hopelessness and of ever increasing poverty, empty State coffers, and a growing disgust in the mind of the taxpayer. Political persons speculating on the naivity of the masses have accumulated colossal fortunes which have been placed in safety beyond the danger of possible judicial revisions. This country, blessed in all by the Lord, which ought to have been the most prosperous

corner of Europe, has been allowed to become the prey of 642
odious vampires, who have sucked everything dry and have 668
even robbed us of our hope of possible salvation. Nevertheless, Providence hath granted the return of our long expected King," etc.

One is justified in expressing doubts as to the expediency 641
of applying fascist methods in Rumania as one fails to per- 565
ceive the dominating personality who might control and 661
direct such a policy; one may also ask, where are the indispensable coadjutors to be recruited from? It can hardly be said of King Carol that he has been able to live down his unfortunate reputation so as to assume with some hope of success such a formidable task. As for his likely collaborators who, presumedly, are to be selected from among the Rumanian ruling circles, one need only peruse the posthumous memoirs of the late Rumanian Prime Minister, Marghiloman, in order to be convinced of the utter abjectness of this class. M. Pamfil Seicaru, who may be likened to the late Henry Labouchere of "Truth" for his fearless criticisms, when writing on the boundless vista of putridity disclosed by this compilation, stigmatized in the "Cuvantul" of July 17th, 1927, in the following scathing terms the leading circles of his country:—"These memoirs form a vast archive concerning turpitudes of a whole ruling class . . . the majority of this class which remained in the territory occupied by the enemy openly practised with him . . . while those in Moldavia offered a spectacle of the most trying moral bankruptcy. A parliament of speculating fugitives revealing a criminal insensibility in face of the tragedy of a whole country; one cannot imagine a more sinister divorce between a ruling class and a nation in arms. . . . And who amongst them can indict the others for their subversion of the national ideal? Can the aristocratic fugitive fragment which took refuge in Moldavia or Russia claim to represent a higher standard of morality than the section which remained in the occupied territory meekly to serve the enemy? They both form two aspects of the same filth."

As recently as May 6th, 1932, Octavian Goga, an ex- 565
Minister and presently in intimate relation with the King, 641
who publicly brags of being the successor designate of Prof.

565 641 Iorga, spoke as follows at Bucau: "The upper class is totally devoid of an ideal, and of a moral mainspring, while the masses are not only tired and exhausted but impregnated by sullen dissatisfaction. The whole body of the State is in a condition of molecular dissolution." And this worthy, who according to the "Dreptatea" of May 19th, 1932, "compensated himself by seizing thirteen million lei on the evacuation of his tenure of the Ministry of the Interior in 1927," a feat which won for him at the time the appropriate name of "Vacuum cleaner," had the effrontery to conclude his oration with an appeal to the youth of the country to rally round him :—"We must change the moral structure of the country, but such a change cannot proceed from the old. We must appeal to the young intellectuals to join in the building of a new structure around us. Their place is not in the building which is tumbling down, but in those which are being built up. Come on, we are sure to win." If, indeed, Carol II has set his heart on saving his country by the help of such sorry individuals, we may well pity Rumania.

PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS:
THE ELECTORAL LAW

646 666 The present electoral law, which confers a premium on the party which secures 40% of the total votes cast at an election and enables it to secure 70% of the mandates in the Chamber, was due to the initiative of the Bratianus who in 1926 aimed at installing General Averescu in office. They themselves had no need of this law, as at the elections which took place in 1927, 62% of the electors voted for them. It is a law that is favourable to groups devoid of popular support, as they can very easily, when in control of the administrative machinery, so manipulate the elections as to secure the requisite 40% which would confer on them a majority of 70% in the Chamber. So that as long as this law is not repealed there is little chance of a really popular party being elected to office, except if it be entrusted beforehand by the Crown with a mandate to call a general election.

It forms actually the great obstacle to a return to constitutional government, for, thanks to it, any coterie appointed to

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power by the Crown can install itself in office, with the semblance of popular support, since it is relatively an easy matter for it to win the requisite 40%. It is somewhat surprising that the two main parties have not so far combined to secure the repeal of this law, which is the main instrument by which unpopular governments can be maintained in office, but their attitude may be explained by the fact that each is doubtful in present circumstances of obtaining a clear majority, while if by chance one of them were to be granted a mandate to call a general election it would easily gain a big majority through the existing law.

The present law is even unfavourable to the formation of a coalition government, for any one of the constituent parties obtaining 40% of the votes at an election would secure a majority which would dispense it from the obligation of co-operating any longer with other parties. The only way in which the present law could remain operative would be to decide beforehand on the allocation of the seats between the groups forming the coalition, but this is hardly within the bounds of possibilities as each party would insist on securing the largest number of seats for itself, and endless conflicts would be engendered over the allotment of ministerial posts and other functions which would endanger the very existence of the coalition.

Neither is it possible to form a government from among prominent members of the various parties without the participation of the latter, as these would object to being weakened and would react against their former leaders, undermining their prestige and authority, so that in the end such a government would be opposed by the political parties and consequently lose its popularity.

The difficulties inherent in the present electoral law have become obvious through the repeated failures of M. Titulescu to form a Coalition Government and the only explanation we may find for its maintenance is that the King finds in it a useful instrument wherewith to support his nominees in power. In fact, during the (1932) spring session of the Chamber some deputies moved that the law be revised, and the government at first condescended, but later, owing probably to palace influences, the matter was dropped.

MISTAKES AND MUDDLES

661 The supreme mission of a Rumanian Government seems to consist in providing posts for its adherents and of furnishing means to its members and leading partisans of amassing fortunes. The psychology of such a governing clique is strangely akin to that of the predatory wolf-pack which is held together by the common pursuit of prey which is more easily secured by collective rather than by individual effort.

The mainspring of political activity seems to be the quest for the "odoriferous exhalation of the roast joint," *Mirosul Fripturei,* a sentence coined by Prof. Iorga whose integrity has had the effect of a centrifugal force on the main body of politicians. And it could hardly be otherwise since the Government plan of action is strictly adapted to conform to the necessity of satisfying the greed of its adherents before proceeding much farther. This constitutes a dire necessity, for if the appetites of the herd are not appeased the leaders run the risk of being repudiated and left in the lurch, the main body of their followers hastening to take up a more promising trail.

000 The maxim of "*primum vivere, deinde philosophari*" is observed in the letter. The experience of Prof. Iorga, one of the most honourable and respected figures of present day Rumania who had the temerity to invert the order of this popular dictum and exact of his followers a strict application of it in its reversed form, prevented him from ever forming a political following numerous enough to exert an influence on the political life of the country, and this in spite of his high and almost unique personal merits.

The following casual compilation of haphazard events, as reported at random in the Rumanian press, will enable the reader to form a general idea of the particularities of the political life of the country. No pains have been taken to prepare this selection except that of collecting reports of such piquant events whenever the writer had time to indulge in the reading of an odd Rumanian newspaper that might from time to time come into his possession. There is no doubt, however, that a somewhat prolonged sojourn in Rumania 000 might offer untold opportunities to the inquisitive for compiling volumes of records of intrigue and sharp practice. One indeed cannot but deplore the waste of so much intelligence, overreaching itself, and becoming cleverness, exhausting itself in mutual conflict, exercising itself anarchically without conscience or social motive to achieve in the end nothing but destruction and ruin. For this reason no surprise should be expressed at the repeated failures of all attempts to form a broad Coalition Government which might have extricated Rumania out of the financial quagmire in which she is wallowing. To secure this goal it would have been necessary to supply the unifying purpose of an elevated ideal, but instead of this only sordid and base aims such as provoke lamentable and fatal division have so far been available, and out of such poor material, an imposing edifice of unity and harmony can never be constructed.

The paternal solicitude of the Averescu Government for the endowment of its supporters. 661

According to the "Cuvantul" of June 17th, 1927, Goga, the Minister of the Interior decided to take a census in Transylvania. He entrusted this task to his brother who was also a deputy, assigning to him 28 million lei. As this operation consisted merely of printing forms, public agents being instructed to distribute them, the newspaper finds that M. Goga may well merit inclusion in the list of "honourable" men. We read in the "Cuvantul" of 15th August, 1927:

"*Like master, like man.*"

"The disciplinary commission of the State Railways had ordered at its workshops a sumptuous writing desk. During an inspection, General Jonescu, who then occupied the post of Under-Secretary of State for the Railways, was seen using this desk. To-day this desk is to be found in the General's house, and has been placed in his dining room.

Since General Averescu departed from the Presidency of the Council, taking with him the furniture, why should not General Ionescu follow the example set by his chief?"

The Bucarest press was rather hard on General Averescu, 661 and failed to discern the true motives behind this somewhat singular act. The General was so attached to his duties that he felt most keenly his dismissal, all the more so since it came so unexpectedly. In order to assuage his feelings he must have thought that it was best to indulge in the illusion that he was still at the head of the Government. To carry out such an idea it was necessary to furnish one of his rooms in the same style as his office at the Ministry. Whence, probably the decision to transfer the furniture from the latter place to his home. The correctness of this interpretation cannot of course be vouched for, but it will be admitted that it is more generous than that offered by the Rumanian press at the time. The latter, too, showed itself particularly unpleasant towards another colleague of the General, dubbing him "Vacuum cleaner" because he managed to dispose, prior to his withdrawal from his ministerial post, of the total annual credits allocated to his department, although several months had still to elapse before the completion of the year. His successor in office, finding that the funds allotted to his department had been completely expended, had to ask for the provision of a supplementary credit of several million lei in order to meet current expenditure which had already been voted and the requisite funds supplied by the Treasury.

"A new scandalous affair at the Ministry of Public Instruction." The wife of General Averescu secures the exclusive right . . . of supplying the workshops of the professional schools with materials.

The "Cuvantul" of Sept. 27th, 1926, published an article with the above title in large type and protested against the manifest favouritism which such decisions entail and the flagrant violations of the law which they imply.

"The Pica Affair" and the Ministry of Public Instruction.
"From one affair to another."

The "Cuvantul" of 3rd Oct., 1926, published two articles with the above titles and protested against the decision of the Ministry to compel school children to buy their clothes exclusively at the shop "Pica." It relates that the price asked for a mantle and a hat is as high as 1,650 and 500 lei respectively, whilst in other shops both these articles may be obtained easily for 1,000 lei. The "Cuvantul" is naturally indignant that the Ministry should permit school children to be so shamefully exploited.

In the second article the paper narrates how pupils have been ordered to obtain their school uniforms at a particular tailor's shop in Bucarest and protests against the creation of such monopolies for the benefit of a few individuals and to the detriment of the public interest.

In its issue of Oct. 8th, 1926, the "Cuvantul" publishes an open letter to the Minister of Public Instruction, ironically greets him on his arrival from Carlsbad, and demands his immediate attention to twelve different "affairs" which it enumerates in turn. The paper concludes in the following style: "Shall we continue farther? it has sufficed for you to absent yourself for a month in order that your ministry should become a daily purveyor to the press of abuses and scandals. You have done well to come at last. We are awaiting you. We wish you to get to work, . . .with the broom and the birch." . . .

In the same issue the "Cuvantul" publishes a lengthy article on another affair characterized as a "Panama of tens of millions of lei." An individual enjoying political protection had secured the right to supply all schools with icons at the modest price of 600 lei each, plus 25 lei for transport charges. Every single schoolroom had to be furnished with one. The paper ends up by declaring ironically "this holy icon intended to maintain the sacred fire of faith and morality should also have been placed in all barracks, hospitals, and tribunals, for people gather together in such buildings, and the moral and religious education of these people might be improved by the sight of this same icon."

The Army Supplies Scandal.

During the Chamber's session on 15th March, 1926, M. Virgil Madgearu attacked the Liberal Government for supplying the army with aeroplanes which were unfit for service, and qualified this act as criminal. He stated that the guilty party sat on the Ministerial bench, that a com-

661 mission of 30 million lei had been pocketed, amounting to 25% of the total amount of the order. This had been confirmed by the Royal Commissary, while General Henţescu had asserted that there were no orders placed without commissions being received. The Minister of War, General Mardarescu, was directly involved in this affair and he should be made to accept full responsibility. The latter's defence was exceedingly lame. The "Cuvantul" of 7th July, 1927, relates how it had been decided to repair the defective motors of the aeroplanes. After remaining for two years at Bucarest they were shipped to France, where on examination they were found to have deteriorated to such an extent that they were useless. They were nevertheless superficially repaired and shipped back, at a total cost to the State of twelve million lei, wasted money as the paper declares. In its issue of 28th Sept., 1927, the same paper, commenting on the mortal accidents which recently befell Rumanian aviators, vehemently condemns the Liberals for supplying the army with such worthless planes, and accuses the ministers of being actuated solely by the desire to pocket commissions and of showing no consideration for the human lives that are imperilled. The order for these aeroplanes had been placed by the Ministry in spite of the advice of the Technical Committee.

During the year 1929, the press enlarged on the contract for the supply of sanitary material, amounting to 400 truckloads. Many irregularities were pointed out, and the question came to be referred to as the "syringe affair." Such grave derelictions of duty on the part of those in authority have resulted in the army being placed in a state [70] of utter unpreparedness, as was revealed by a speech of the Minister of War, General Mircescu, delivered in the Chamber on September, 1927, and in the course of which he was reported to have said: "We have no aeroplanes, no rifles, no machine guns; neither poisonous gases, nor gas masks; we have no artillery, we have no tanks; we have no navy, even sufficient for our defence. No seaplanes. We have not enough non-commissioned officers; our reserves are not trained; we have no horses, no equipment, no medicinal supplies. We just have enough troops to marshal at parades when foreigners are received, and to maintain internal 661 order."

The Reşiţa Affair.

The Reşiţa is the largest metallurgical establishment of 661
Rumania, and being in close proximity to the iron and coal 327 mines of the Banat, is susceptible of rapid development. Its shares, which fetched 809 lei in 1929, have dropped to 402 in 1930, 205 in June, 1931, and 130 lei in 1932. The "Epoca" of 24th Oct., 1930, reported the following details on the management which may partially explain this depreciation, but at any rate they serve to show on what principles limited companies are generally run in Rumania :-

"We published during May details as to the amount of directors' remuneration distributed. This amounted to 83 million lei, while 86 millions were distributed among the shareholders. The director, Prince Barbu Stirbey, received over 10 millions annually. In other countries such particulars would have created consternation. With us nothing happened, because Stirbey's dictature is all-powerful. To-day the Reşiţa is at the mercy of the Credit Anstallt, of Vienna, owing to the manner the Company was administered, the interest of the shareholders being always the last consideration. Secret conventions were signed by Prince Stirbey who drew tens of millions of lei annually for travelling expenses. The ordinary revenue was insufficient to face such wastefulness, even with the 200% subsidy furnished by the State, and therefore recourse to loans from the Credit Anstallt was necessary, the Reşiţa being on the threshold of bankruptcy. The great Viennese bank has put a stop to the scandalous remuneration received by Stirbey and has increasingly taken control of the Company."

Prince Stirbey was one of the leading pillars of the Liberal 661 party and took a prominent part in exiling the (then) Crown Prince Carol from the country. The Reşiţa seems to be associated with scandal. In 1921 it was disclosed that some eighty deputies and senators had received shares in the concern in order to support interests inimical to the Rumanian State, and these disclosures provoked at the time tumultuous debates in the Chamber.

RUMANIA

661

The Exploitation of the Forest of Bucovina.

The "Cuvantul" of the 3rd–8th Oct., 1926, in a series of articles, enlarges on a contract passed for the exploitation of the forests of Bucovina on the basis of a fictitious price which would cause an approximate loss of 120 million lei to the State domains. After exposing in detail this shady affair, the author, a deputy named Florescu, asks whether in view of the enormous prejudice caused to the State such a contract should be upheld, as it was concluded in violation of the law and of all principles of honour.

Frauds in the Banat and the Maramureş.

In the above-mentioned numbers of the "Cuvantul" one meets the story of how 280 truckloads of maize, destined for the relief of the famine-stricken population of the Maramureş Province, were disposed of for the benefit of some big party bosses. . . "Of the 280 trucks, 120 were distributed, but only after the maize had become unfit for use; as for the remaining 160 trucks, no one knows where they have gone. But people whisper that three big rats have eaten them up and their names are well known." Another article is devoted to the fraudulent activities of a personage who, after embezzling moneys and engaging in contraband, was, instead of being thrown into prison, nominated by politicians to the post of Prefect of Temişoara. Yet another case of a corrupt and inefficient, but officially shielded functionary !

Irregularities in the Bucarest Municipality.

The "Cuvantul" in December, 1926, published a series of articles giving full details of a mass of important frauds committed to the detriment of the public, and it appealed to the Minister of the Interior to put a stop to the scandals.

The Activities of certain Directors of the National Bank of Rumania.

The "Cuvantul" of 8th Dec., 1926, published a leader on M. Oromolu, appointed to the post of Director of the National Bank through political intervention, and who by extending his protection to a dishonest individual permitted the latter to commit numerous frauds. The National Bank was finally involved to the tune of 40 million lei, and the "Cuvantul" vents its wrath on M. Oromolu. In its issue of 10th November, 1926, the same paper relates how another director, Ghiorghiu, took under his protection the brothers Berkovitz, who had a bank at Bucarest and who committed various frauds and engaged in contraband. Whenever they were found out, politicians intervened to hush up the matter, but finally, owing to the "Cuvantul's" campaign, the financial inspectors succeeded in proving that these sharpers kept two sets of books, one for themselves and one intended for the inspection of the financial authorities, in order to avoid paying too much in taxation.

The Failure of the Bank Cetatea of Braşov.

The "Cuvantul" of 17 June, 1931, expatiates upon the activities of this bank and its association with prominent members of the National Peasant Party, who however are in no way implicated in the disaster. The bank, in order to extricate itself from its difficult position, spent more than 13 million lei in developing a stone quarry for the purpose of providing the material for the refection of the whole system of roads of the State. Political influences were brought to bear, but the onerous contract for the construction of these State roads was rejected by the Chamber, in spite of the fact that the National Peasant Party had a large majority in it. Thus one may come now to understand why the much-talked of Stewart contract concerning the roads was concluded; the tension that existed between the National Peasant Party and the Director of the National Bank, M. D. Burillianu, is likewise explained. The latter refused to come to the aid of the Cetatea bank as the institution was too deeply involved and could not be saved. This is yet another example of the nefarious results arising from alliances between business and politics.

The Complaints of State Pensioners.

The "Adeverul" of 28th Jan., 1932, reports the proceedings of the congress of pensioners. The budget provided for a reduction of 390 million lei on the total amount of pensions

661 to be paid during the year. Nevertheless the Ministerial Council had decreed that the amount payable should be reduced by yet another 110 millions. This was considered unfair, all the more so since the critical condition of the pension fund is due to the fact that a mass of politicians having no right whatever to pensions have been awarded very generous ones, while men who had devoted their whole life to the service of the State ran the risk of dying of hunger.

The Bank of Industrial Credit.

652 The "Cuvantul" of 11th March, 1929, published an article revealing the unsound character of the expedients which are occasionally resorted to in order to secure temporary alleviation for the Treasury, and some of the results of this policy.

"The management of the public finances was so irregular during these three last years that the State was obliged to conclude a foreign loan in order to pay its debts to local contractors. This was not only a period of financial insincerity, but also one in which the conception of honestly meeting one's pecuniary obligations was undermined. The bad example of the State proved contagious to commerce in general. The "Industrial Credit" was created to enable the National Bank to obtain relief from a mass of bills that found their way to it to be rediscounted at a time when the State had obtained the maximum amount of credit from local industry, and when the latter was no longer in a position to pay the excessive interest on State debts which the banks insisted on charging when discounting the said debts. The irregular payment of State debts created other inconveniences. Local industries, to protect themselves from being ruined, were obliged to increase the price of the articles supplied. The cost of materials furnished to the State was thereby very sensibly increased. To prevent foreign industrialists from under-selling local producers, who were thus forced to sell their products at inflated prices, it became necessary to impose excessive protective duties, the burden of which fell ultimately on the inarticulate masses."

MISTAKES AND MUDDLES

The Congress of Egg Exporting Firms.

661

Astounding details of the corruption prevalent in Rumania were disclosed at this congress held at Bucarest in 1931, to discuss the standardization of eggs, a measure imposed by the Government. No export permits were obtainable without the payment of bribes. The names of several officials who extorted sums from the egg exporting firms were mentioned, and the delegates of the latter did nothing but criticize this Government measure which resulted in a falling off in egg exports by 50 %. One of the delegates ironically declared that the only advantage secured was the standardization of bribes !

Frauds Committed by Oil Firms.

The "Cuvantul" of 14th May, 1932, relates how the State had been defrauded of several milliard lei during the last few years. Invoices of all oil exported had to be stamped with revenue stamps amounting to 1.32% of the value declared on the invoices. In 1922 it was decreed that the sums represented by these stamps should be paid direct to the State. Recent investigations showed that there had been a systematic evasion of this impost by almost all oil exporting companies since 1922, and that they would now be fined. Though the State could not recover the sums of which it had been defrauded during the years 1922–1927 (owing to the time limit for claims having elapsed) yet after 1927 the sums involved could be recovered, and these would certainly amount to several milliards of lei.

Other Frauds and Scandals.

The "Cuvantul" of May 16th, 1932, gives sensational details concerning the arrest of a Chief Constable who carried on simultaneously with his official profession the more lucrative one of a ringleader of a band of housebreakers and pickpockets.

In another article it reveals extensive frauds which are taking place at the Bucarest Municipality in the town-planning department, etc. While yet in another column it enlarges on the discovery of a fraud of 12 million lei perpetrated by certain functionaries in the tax-collecting department of Constantsa.

ECONOMICS

GEOGRAPHIC and ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES.

131 Rumania has an area of 294,967 square kilometers, approximately larger than that of Italy, and owing to its circular form has proportionately to its surface a very short stretch of frontiers, only 2,669 Km.—which are mainly formed by natural features. It is situated between the 43-rd and 49-th degrees north latitude and 20° and 31° east longitude. The highlands of the Maramureş separate Rumania from Czechoslovakia, but there is no clearly defined frontier between Rumania and Poland. The river Dniester constitutes the frontier with Russia for a distance of some 700 Km. To the east Rumania is bounded by the Black Sea for a distance of 277 miles. It is separated from Bulgaria partly by an artificial frontier across the Dobrudja, and partly by the Danube for a distance of about 450 Km. The latter river also provides a partial boundary with Yugoslavia to the south, while to the west the frontier separating Rumania from Yugoslavia and Hungary is drawn through the plain of the river Theiss at about a distance of 30-40 Km. to the east of the latter. The country is divided into the following provinces:—

133 *Wallachia*, which is sub-divided by the river Olt into the
635 district of Oltenia to the west and Muntenia to the east, the latter being separated from Moldavia by the river Sereth and its affluent, the Milkov. Oltenia is composed of a wide belt of hilly country bordered by the Danubian plain to the south, which, narrow at its western end, gradually broadens out to the east into the plain of the Baragan, considered to be the granary of Rumania and extending from the river Ialomitsa to the Sereth. Wallachia is watered by numerous rivers, which with the exception of the Olt, the source of which is in Transylvania, all rise in the southern Carpathians and flow into the Danube, the largest of them being the Jiu, Argesh, and Ialomitsa.

The Rumanian bank of the Danube, owing to its extreme flatness, is subject to inundations and forms a fringe of marshes and swamps extending along the whole length of the river to a width of some 20 Km. in some places. The imposing range of the Southern Carpathians, otherwise known as the Transylvanian Alps, shuts off Wallachia on the north from Transylvania, the main means of communication between the two provinces being provided by the Vulcan, Red Tower, Predeal, and Buzau defiles. 133 635

Moldavia is divided in almost two halves by the river Sereth which rises in Bucovina and flows southwards until it joins the Danube, receiving in its onward course several tributaries, the most important of which are the Moldova, Suceava, Bistritsa, and Trotush, the valleys of which furnish means of access to Transylvania. Western Moldavia is a hilly region very similar in structure to the Transylvanian basin, while the region between the rivers Sereth and Pruth forms a country of vast rolling plains.

Bessarabia is separated from Moldavia by the river Pruth and is delimitated to the north-east by the river Dniester, which constitutes its frontier with Russia. It is a country of vast, sparsely wooded plains, and is renowned for its orchards and extensive vineyards. The southern portion has a steppe-like appearance, though intersected by numerous lakes. It is deficient both in wood and in spring water, and for a long time this deficiency proved an obstacle to its colonization. Bessarabia originally constituted part of Moldavia, with which it also forms a geographic unit. Its capital, Chişinau, or Kichineff, is a well-built city. It possesses numerous colleges, religious institutes and governmental buildings, which form the relics of the former Russian administration and evoke memories of its past magnificence. [489] Owing to the stoppage of traffic with Odessa, complete stagnation prevails. The Rumanian authorities have avoided the construction of communications in Bessarabia, and Chişinau, though being the second largest town in the kingdom, with a population of 117,016, is practically isolated, for the existing railways laid out by the Russians to suit different requirements, are from the commercial point of view now utterly unpractical for actual necessities. As a result stagnation has set in, and this maintains among the population a regret for the past Russian régime.

The Dobrudja lies to the south of the Danube, and may be regarded as an extension, both geographically and ethnologi-

133 cally, of the Bulgarian plateau that projects northward to
635 the Danube delta. The northern part is covered by hills,
gradually sloping southwards towards the vast wooded but
waterless stretches of the Dely-Orman, part of which still lies
in Bulgaria.

The Banat and the Crishana form parts of the Hungarian plain and possess the same climatic and agricultural features as the latter. The eastern part of the Banat is mountainous, forming geologically an extension of Transylvania and of the western spurs of the southern Carpathians, while the Crishana is separated from Transylvania on the east by the mountainous mass of the Bihor mountains, reaching to an altitude of 1,800 meters.

Transylvania forms a circular tableland whose mean
altitude is from 350 to 600 meters, and forms the essential
nucleus of Rumania, both geographically and ethnically. It
is encircled to the north, east, and south by the Carpathians,
which occasionally reach to an altitude of 2,000 meters in the
[132] north and 2,544 meters in the southern section. Owing to an
average annual rainfall of about 35 inches, numerous
streams take their rise and drain the region, breaching the
mountain rim and thus forming the main ways of egress.
The Somesh, Muresh, and Timish, the former two affluents
of the Theiss, the latter of the Danube, connect Transylvania
with the Hungarian plain and with the Banat, while to the
south the river Olt flows through the Red Tower pass to join
the Danube and offers the main and easiest way of access
into Rumania. The whole region consists of an undulating
upland cut up by ranges of hills into valleys, some of which
are fairly extensive and fertile, owing to the frequency of
[310] alluvial deposits. The mountains are thickly wooded, about
a third of the total area (32.19%) being under forest, and
give rise to numerous streams, the presence of which explains
the abundance of pasture land and meadows and accounts
for the thriving live-stock rearing industry which forms the
main source of the wealth of the province. The highlands of
the Maramureş, to the north, form part of Transylvania, and
are separated from it by the river Somesh.

Bucovina forms a geographic unit with Moldavia and used to form part of that principality prior to its occupation by the

Austrians in 1775. Bucovina, in spite of its exiguousness in 133
arable land—about one fourth of its surface being devoted to 635
a variety of agricultural crops and orchards—is one of the 310
most advanced agricultural regions of Rumania, maintaining in certain parts of the valleys of the Pruth and Sereth as dense a population as 300 inhabitants per square kilometre. Its forests are better preserved than those of the other provinces of the kingdom, thanks to the careful sylvan administration the Austrians had initiated. They cover 43% of the region and form the main source from which timber is obtained in Rumania, the river Sereth being used largely for floating down the logs to the Danubian port of Galatz, whence they are exported. When the Austrians annexed Bucovina in 1775 its population was only 72,000. Thanks to their excellent administration and their efforts to develop the country, its population had surpassed 800,000 when it was reunited to Rumania; the increase was due partly, however, to the Austrian attempt at denationalizing the country by settling Ruthenian immigrants. Cernauţi, better known as Czernowitz, is a modern town, beautifully planned and with all the amenities of a western city. The spirit of its inhabitants is distinctly occidental and reminds one of the mentality of Vienna, the more so, since they have distinct leanings towards Socialism owing to the preponderance of German culture. The town used to be an important centre of traffic between Galicia and Russia, but owing to the loss of its hinterland it seems as though struck with a sudden blight while in full prosperity. It has a population of 111,147, and constitutes the third largest town of Rumania.

Table showing population and area of provinces according 151
to census of 1930. 162

	Population.	Area (sq. km.)
Wallachia	5,542,467	76,583.
Moldavia	2,413,123	38,058.
Bessarabia	2,865,506	44,422.
Bucovina	845,903	10,442.
Dobrudja	811,332	23,262.
Transylvania	3,217,149	102,200.
Maramureş and Crishana	1,387,675	
Banat	942,072	
Total population	18,025,237	Area .. 294,967.

RUMANIA

162 The preliminary figures of the 1930 census do not give details of the various national minorities inhabiting Rumania, and the more reliable estimate will be found in Winkler's "Racial Statistics," from which the following data are extracted :—

Germans	713,564
Russians	174,293
Jews	778,094
Magyars	1,463,373
Bulgarians	351,328
Yugo-Slavs	52,570
Czechoslovaks	31,884
Ukrainians	500,484
Various	404,104
Total	4,469,694

634 The whole kingdom is administratively divided into 71
departments, but in the case of Transylvania, Maramureş,
Crishana, and the Banat the departments created out of
these provinces do not correspond exactly with the frontiers
161 of the latter. The density of the population per sq. km. is
63 in the old kingdom, including the Dobrudja, 64 in Bessarabia
82 in Bucovina, and 54 in Transylvania.

163 The birth rate for 1930 was 35 per thousand, while the
165 death rate was 19.4, and the excess of births over deaths
reached 278,722, this being the largest figure recorded since
the war.

162 The total urban population formed 20.13 per cent, while the rural population formed 79.87 per cent. There were 172 towns, some of which must be mere villages, as at least two are shown to possess less than 1,000 inhabitants. The following towns have a population of over 20,000: Bucarest 631,288, Chişinau 117,016, Cernauţi 111,147, Iassi 102,595, Galatz 101,148, Cluj 98,569, Timişoara 91,866, Oradea 82,355, Ploeşti 77,325, Arad 77,225, Braila 68,310, Craiova 63,063, Brasov 59,234, Constantsa 58,258, Satu-Mare 49,917, Sibiu 48,013, Targul-Mureş 38,116, Buzau 36,115,

Cetatea Alba 33,495, Focşani 32,799, Botoşani 32,007, 162 Tighina 31,698, Bacau 31,264, Balţi 30,667, Giurgiu 30,348, Piatra-Neamt 30,211, Bazargic 29,938, Roman 28,948, Sighet 27,684 (French edition of census gives 27,646), Barlad 26,189, Ismail 26,123, Lugoş 23,674, Targovişte 22,482, Tulcea 20,104, Turda 20,057, Reşiţa 20,008.

COMMERCIAL MORALITY

One can best judge of a country by the mentality of its 439 commercial circles, and it is not therefore amiss to enlarge 452 on this subject prior to analyzing Rumanian finance, for it will be found that State affairs are generally conducted very much after the business methods in vogue. In fact, as we all know, legislation concerning finance and trade is often, if not always, inspired and directed by the views held by the commercial and its allied industrial and banking professions.

An outsider would have expected that in a country like Rumania, practically devoid of liquid assets, every possible safeguard would have been extended to foreign capital so as to attract it, seeing that the country's development and welfare are dependent on it. But instead, post-war Rumanian legislation has been distinctly inimical to the foreign creditors of the country, and has openly favoured and encouraged debtors to repudiate their engagements to such an extent, that finally all operations based on credit have had to be suspended. This has had a disastrous effect on Rumanian commerce, for traders are generally devoid of cash resources and depend entirely on credit for their operations. Importers of foreign goods used to obtain their supplies on a six to nine months credit basis, and were able to extend corresponding facilities to their customers, so that these transactions really corresponded to the granting of a short-term loan to Rumania which was perpetually renewed and which permitted the financing of these operations.

Several laws, amongst which that of the so-called "concordat préventif," finally superseded by the so-termed "judicial liquidation," have rendered commercial opera-

439 452 tions on a credit basis so hazardous that they have practically ceased, to the great discomfiture of Rumanian merchants, who have seen their activities completely paralysed.

426 452 651 686 As matters stand, a creditor is at the mercy of his debtor, and if the latter refuses to honour his engagements there is nothing to be done but to accept whatever compromise may be offered, for a recourse to tribunals would be tantamount to a total loss not only of the amount involved, but of the supplementary expenses arising from legal disbursements and inordinately high judicial taxes which unlucky creditors will have to defray.

[439] What is singular is a tax imposed by the State on all bankruptcies to the amount of 20 per cent of the total assets declared, so that this explains, though it can hardly justify, the State's manifest indifference to the undermining of the country's commercial reputation through fraudulent bankruptcies, the frequency of which is positively alarming, for it derives corresponding advantages from this impost on bankruptcies. Instead of attempting to circumscribe this evil it would appear that the State has done much to encourage it, especially where foreigners are involved. Apparently it is actuated by the shortsighted view that the loss of the foreigner is to the benefit of the country in general, since through bankruptcies foreign capital is transferred to its own nationals. At any rate, bankruptcies have been regarded as a means of raising revenue, and the State as a privileged party has always secured its 20 per cent impost plus other legal taxes, and the debtor has usually managed to alienate a good part of his assets so as to safeguard himself in a very satisfactory manner, while the wretched creditor not only gets nothing but usually finds he is being called upon to make further disbursements on account of legal formalities involved. The *Argus* of June 15th and 16th, 1931, commenting on the law of the "Concordat préventif," qualified it as disastrous, and added: "Among the principal obstacles which prevent the development and normalization of our commerce this law stands in the front rank. . . . it has given free rein to the unscrupulous debtor, permitting him to carry out his underhand manœuvres without any risks, to sell the goods he bought with-

452

out paying for them, spoliating thereby his creditor and 426
underselling and ruining the honest trader." [651]

The paper advocated a revision of the law and demanded 686
that debtors should be obliged to make a composition on the basis of the ratio existing between the assets and the liabilities, or with a variation of only 10 or 20 per cent of this proportion. As matters now stand a dishonourable merchant is entitled to file a demand for a "Concordat préventif" though his assets may far exceed his liabilities. He is then allowed to pay 40 or 60 per cent of his debts, and after they have been thereby considerably reduced is even accorded a delay of several years to pay them off. With such facilities at hand the majority of merchants did not scruple to avail themselves of the opportunity of repudiating their engagements and so getting rich quickly. The consequence is that commerce has been completely dislocated through the complete suppression of credit which naturally followed. The Under-Secretary of Justice in the Iorga-Argentoianu Government, M. N. Lenguceanu, overtly admitted in the *Neamul Romanesc*, September 5th, 1930, that the above-mentioned law "had permitted merchants, 98 per cent of whom were foreigners, overtly to despoil their
creditors." Another very serious defect from which Ruman- 675
ian legislation suffers is the tendency to enact laws with [454]
retroactive effect, which permits the invalidation of contracts, thus creating a state of instability that affects most adversely all commercial and financial operations. For how can foreign investors risk their capital in a country where uncertainty and instability have become its distinguishing features?

Senator Marino, on February 26th, 1932, deplored the disrespect shown for contracts, criticized the State for various measures passed undermining confidence, among which was the moratorium of 1919–1920 by which foreigners had lost some 7 milliard lei, and demanded the granting of serious guarantees which would instil confidence once more. Similar pronouncements by public men abound, for the serious consequence of the present policy are obvious to all.

Professor Flinders Petrie once stated (*Contemporary Re-* 000

OOOview, January, 1921, "What Is Civilization?") that there are certain principles essential for any community or civilization: First of all, justice; secondly, security; and thirdly, toleration. Rumania unfortunately is deficient on the first count, defective on the second, since security is but the permanence of justice, and as far as concerns the third point she is far from perfect. So that if she intends evolving a civilization of her own it seems to be time that she should make an effort to rise above the stage she has at present attained and from which her rulers seem unwilling to depart.

The disrepute this lamentable state of affairs and its inevitable corollary, suspension of credit facilities, have brought on Rumania have so far left the country's legislators indifferent, and owing to the absence of a critical public opinion which might bestir them, things are left as they were. Occasionally, when an impressionable Rumanian strays a little farther afield and gets into a fresher and breezier atmosphere, he finds his national susceptibilities grievously shocked when he proceeds to embark on propaganda in favour of his country. Such was the experience of Prof. N. Basilescu, of Bucharest University, who, in a series of articles published in the *Argus* in 1926, proceeded to narrate his experiences in London. The sudden realization by this Rumanian intellectual that his country had been "excommunicated and rejected from among the ranks of honourable people" caused in him a salutary revulsion of feelings which found expression in the following stirring appeal to his compatriots: "We must make searching and detailed inquiry into the causes of this discredit and of this moral crisis, and do all we can in order to win back the esteem and confidence of foreign countries which we have lost. Economic, financial, vital interests relative to our country's defence, and moral interests ordain that every people should seek and obtain the assistance and friendship of other nations, their confidence and esteem. Rumania to-day is beyond the pale, and is considered as infected by a most dangerous epidemic—the plague of dishonesty—and the consequences of this will be borne not only by the present generation, responsible for this discredit, but also by future generations. It is the duty of every Rumanian to react against this national misfortune, the greatest which has befallen us, and by every sacrifice to wash off this stain on our character, so that we may re-establish Rumania's credit. . ." 000

Prof. Basilescu's appeal unfortunately fell on deaf ears and caused no reaction whatever. The writer, too, was naïve enough to entertain the belief that by throwing a stone into the turbid pool of Rumanian consciousness it would be possible to impart some movement to its stagnant waters. He therefore, some years ago, published a booklet of social essays containing some of the quintessence of our western social thought, as well as a short criticism of the misgovernment from which Rumania was and is suffering. In order to ensure the distribution of the booklet it was sold for the benefit of a Rumanian educational institute, but, as happened with Prof. Basilescu's campaign, it evoked no response whatever in the hidebound consciousness of the Rumanian intelligentsia.[1] Rumanians cannot plead that they have not been put on their guard as to the inevitable consequences of their shortcomings. Both native and foreign observers have repeatedly admonished them and urged them to mend their ways before it was too late; so that the crisis they are traversing to-day may with some justification be diagnosed as of their own making.

There is no country which has been the cause of greater disillusionment and bitterness to the British investor or exporter than Rumania, and the writer, who has largely shared this experience, feels in duty bound to his fellow countrymen to counsel total abstinence from participation in Rumanian enterprises so long as the present system endures. These practices have cast a slur on the mercantile classes, and educated Rumanians have shown a tendency to avoid following a commercial career, leaving this field of activity to alien elements, to the great detriment of the country, which is thus deprived of the opportunity of building up an independent middle-class, whose steadying effect on the general life of the community and in the formation of an enlightened public opinion would be invaluable. [44]

So it is not merely financial reasons that press for the re-

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[1] This was published in Rumanian, under the title: "Essays, Social and Scientific" by the Bucarest publishing firm of Datina Romaneasca.

000 moval of this stigma on Rumania's honour, but also more weighty considerations concerning her very national existence. In the long run no community, however impervious to contamination, can survive with a stinking cesspool in its midst.

426 The late Minister of Justice, M. Hamangiu, in June, 1931, addressed a circular to the judges reprimanding them for their remissness, and calling upon them to supervise more strictly the carrying out of the law in the case of abuses committed by dishonest merchants and manufacturers. His rescript contained the following passage: "The lack of sanctions against defaulters threatens the security of the country's credit. The gravest infractions are committed in bankruptcy cases. So far the magistracy has been too lenient; this becomes obvious from bankruptcy statistics of the last four years, the returns of which amount to thousands of millions of lei, and compositions are concluded on the basis of payment to the extent of 3 per cent to 8 per cent. What is particularly staggering is the excessive indulgence shown in the repression of penal offences in cases of simple or fraudulent bankruptcy. . . ." The Minister concluded by stating that this could no longer be tolerated, and gave instructions for restricting these abuses.

The opportuneness of radical reform in judicial methods
686 is more than urgent since an unscrupulous debtor by force
696 of chicanery is allowed to postpone the hearing of his case by the courts for years, during which time he not only has every opportunity of alienating his assets by overtly transferring them to relatives and friends, but what is most revolting, he has often the possibility by dexterous manipulation of subordinate officials, of making away with the most incriminating documents which his unsuspecting adversary has submitted to the Court for its enlightenment.

000 The late M. Hamangiu, whose untimely death all friends of Rumania must deplore, was a bosom friend of Prof. Iorga and as such fully recognized the imperative necessity of maintaining a high standard of justice in the country. In this respect he undoubtedly shared the opinion of one of our distinguished historians, Mr. Ramsay Muir, that "in the Western view no people can be called fully civilized until

there is widely diffused among its members the sense of their 000
obligations, not merely to obey the law but to obey it willingly and to co-operate in enforcing and maintaining it. Because the law embodies the common conscience and also the common interest" (*v.*'Nationalism and Internationalism.')

What hope there may have been for an improvement in 426
this respect has at least for the present vanished with M. 686
Hamangiu's decease, for his successor was nominated mainly with the object of placating public feeling in Transylvania, which region did not possess a single representative in the Iorga-Argentoianu Cabinet. The selection, however, of M. Valer Pop let loose a storm of indignation in independent Transylvanian circles, so that one may take it for granted that he was not the appropriate person for this high post. As the *Patria*, a newspaper of Cluj, wrote in January, 1932, "The men who have recently entered the Government do not represent even a part of the population, nor even a petty clan; they do not even form a part of the *élite* of their profession. . . ." At any rate, he has so far not manifested any inclination to follow the commendable initiative of his predecessor in office. On the contrary, he is responsible for the so-styled law of "judicial liquidation," which intensifies all the evils contained in the law of the "Concordat préventif" which it supplants. In fact this law prolongs indefinitely the liquidation of all ramshackle enterprises which were bound to go bankrupt, and puts off the reimbursement of creditors for an indefinite period without any guarantee whatever for them. The *Argus* of April 24th, 1932, commenting on this, wrote as follows: "Serious commercial circles consider this law as a new, corrected, and aggravated edition of the "Concordat préventif," a direct invitation addressed to traders in general not to pay. Immediately upon the promulgation of the latter law one witnessed a steeplechase of merchants taking advantage of it in order to escape the rigours of the bankruptcy law. We shall now witness the same mass-rush of those who do not wish to pay and who desire to avail themselves of this new law so that they may escape the opprobrium of bankruptcy and the loss of civil rights. . . ." Naturally these laws, which annul formal engagements, have

426 gradually imbued people with the conviction that engagements
686 and promises need not be considered seriously, and
that on the contrary, elusion of obligations is a mundane
affair and a fashionable art which should be cultivated assiduously.
As a result, not only debtors always find means to
651 avoid paying, but taxpayers also use every possible stratagem
to avoid payment of taxes. There are huge arrears of
taxes that remain uncollected, every imaginable trick being
resorted to by taxpayers in order to escape from their monetary
obligations to the State. The present tremendous falling
off in the revenue should mainly be ascribed to this reason,
as well as to the venality of the tax-collectors, whose leniency
is secured by a slight gratification whenever they tend to
become over sedulous in the execution of their duties. M. N.
Petrascu, a fashionable speaker, while delivering an address
at the Rumanian Social Institute in Bucarest on May 18th,
1932, asserted, "we should explain the non-realization of the
budgetary revenue forecasts by the fact that our civic
consciousness is not sufficiently developed to allow us to
understand that by paying our taxes we fulfil an elementary
duty; this is also the reason why fiscal frauds have attained
extraordinary and unimaginable proportions. . . ."

675 The utter disregard of contracts and formal engagements
454 can hardly be better illustrated than by the attitude of the
State Railways administration in rescinding contracts with
metallurgical establishments at Arad, Braila, and Reşiţa,
contracts on the basis of which these very workshops were
built. Another flagrant case of repudiation of solemn
promises by an official organization is that of the municipality
of Cluj which, after confirming a contract with the
society "Electrobel" for a duration of fifty years, and after
the Brussels firm had carried out 80 per cent of the work it
had undertaken to perform, was requested by the municipality,
hardly one year after signature of contract, to alter
its provisions which had received the royal assent and had
been unanimously approved and passed by the municipal
council. The municipality brazenly demanded a reduction
in the time period of the concession originally granted,
namely from 50 years to 15, an increase in the royalty payable
to the municipality from 3 per cent to 6 per cent, and

the right of the municipality to demand a revision of the 454
price of the electric current supplied by the "Electrobel" 675
whenever and as often as the municipality might think fit!

The "Electrobel" had completed the work contracted for to the extent of 80 per cent and had sunk millions in the undertaking in hand. Naturally it had made its calculations for a return on its capital on the terms of the original contract. If the clauses of the latter are to be so radically and arbitrarily altered it is bound to incur a huge loss. Such treatment meted out to the foreign capitalist has had the result of frightening him away for good, though his aid would have proved of inestimable value in helping Rumania to-day to surmount the difficulties with which she is confronted.

Owners of real property have also been very unjustly hit 675
by a law promulgated in February, 1932, decreeing that all 426
rents should be reduced by 25 per cent to 30 per cent, all
existing contracts being rendered void. Most owners were 427
already in a precarious situation, for they had built with borrowed money, and the recent drop in rents made it impossible for them to meet their engagements and pay off their mortgages, and as a consequence of this an immense number of buildings were being sold up for default, as the *Adeverul* for January 21st, 1932 records. This law, therefore, will complete the ruin of another class of the urban population, and will impress on the minds of all intending investors that it is as risky a proceeding to invest one's money in Rumania as in Soviet Russia. Various municipalities are doing their best to attract unwary investors by holding out to them the most alluring prospectuses and dazzling promises, and it would be well to sound a note of warning so that no more British capital be enticed into Rumanian enterprises, which have proved a veritable bottomless pit.

The writer also committed the folly of relying on the relative immutability of the law, as is customary in other European countries, and leased a certain site in a fashionable Rumanian resort for the purpose of constructing certain dwellings and letting them, all buildings to revert to the original owner of the site after the expiration of a ten-year period. The law reducing rents forces down the revenue by

426 25 to 30 per cent, but on the other hand, no corresponding 675 increase in the time limit of the lease can be secured, and 427 there is no authority to which one may appeal. Besides, how can one possibly expect to receive more favourable treatment than the banks, which have been ruined by the enforcement of the law cancelling agrarian debts. What is truly surprising is that the Government had been seriously considering the passing of yet another law, cancelling all private urban debts, which, after all, would only have been the natural complement of the agrarian prototype, but this it was prevented from doing by the French financial experts! Rumanian politicians seem to be grievously deficient in the conception of what constitutes right, for otherwise it is impossible to explain the enactment of laws which not only undermine the very foundations of credit but also of property. That this 693 is so may also be inferred from the not very high standing of the judicial administration, which, if the scandals of 1926 be recollected, certainly needs to be overhauled. The then Government of General Averescu, under pressure of an outraged public at the scandalous venality of some judges, was obliged to dismiss several magistrates, including the President of the Bucharest Court, on account of "acts which were found incompatible with the dignity of magistrates," to quote the *Argus* of October 30th and the *Cuvantul* of October 23rd, 1926. Nor can one pass in silence the undignified attitude of the highest magistrate in Rumania, the then President of the highest Court of Appeal, who, setting at naught the findings of the Court, attempted by all imaginable subterfuges and chicanery to evade its verdict, which was unfavourable to him. (See an article headed "When you apply the law, and when it is applied to you" in the *Cuvantul*, October 6th, 1926). . . .

000 Professor Henry Sedgwick, in his "Elements of Politics," opines that "in determining a nation's rank in political civilization no test is more decisive than the degree in which justice, as defined by law, is actually realized in its judicial administration." Judged by this criterion, Rumania must indeed stand very low in the scale of nations, for the law is sadly deficient, as is woefully admitted even by Rumanians themselves. The *Adeverul* of March 3rd, 1932 wrote: "By

such methods the conviction is instilled among the humble 600 and meek that sanctions, and punishments as provided by the law are only destined for them, while the higher classes are exempt from penalties. . . ."

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION FOLLOWING THE WAR

At the end of the War Rumania was confronted with a 647 series of problems, the magnitude and difficulty of which [727] might well have strained an economic organization far more powerful than her own. The assimilation of the various segments that had belonged to the neighbouring States, of a total area and population about as large as that of the pre-war kingdom, was a formidable task that necessarily demanded the utmost exertions and self-sacrifice on the part of the Central Government. The impossibility of recruiting an adequate administrative staff for the newly-annexed territories, forced the central authorities to draw on their own of the old kingdom, with the result that the vacancies created were filled with inexperienced persons whose appointment was, according to the prevailing fashion, mainly due to favouritism. This resulted in a serious lowering of the standard of the Civil Service, which even during pre-war times had never been distinguished for its efficiency. There were plausible arguments for avoiding the enlistment of men of ex-enemy nationality at times when it was necessary to guard above all against every subversive movement against the integrity of the State; but at the same time the pressing of men into the service of the State who were in no way proof against the seductions of easily-acquired wealth involved risks that were equally detrimental to the State. On the one hand it undermined the financial stability of the State by deflecting from the national exchequer to the pockets of its servants resources destined for the former; and on the other hand, these shortcomings of its agents gravely compromised the prestige of the State in the newly-annexed regions, where such a system of subornation and corruption was something of a novelty.

RUMANIA

652 The first pressing task which the Government had to face[1] was the unification of the currency. It was decreed that the 457 roubles circulating in Bessarabia, and the Austro-Hungarian crowns hitherto used in Transylvania, Banat, and Bucovina, were to be exchanged against Rumanian lei, at the rate of one lei per rouble and one lei per two crowns. It had been roughly estimated that the amount needed for the conversion of these roubles and crowns would be approximately 2,500 million lei. Unfortunately, owing to the dilatory fashion in which the redemption of these foreign currencies proceeded, it became possible for smugglers and speculators to introduce into the country huge sums of these notes from the adjoining States, since the announced rate of exchange in Rumania was far above the intrinsic value of these notes in their respective countries of origin. Of course, this vast fraud was only rendered possible through the connivance of politicians and functionaries, but it resulted in a net loss to the State of some 5,000 million lei. For the conversion of these roubles and crowns, instead of the 2,500 million lei originally estimated, absorbed a sum of over 7,000 million lei. A similar fraud was perpetrated in the case of the notes issued by the Banca Generala during the Austro-German occupation. Further quantities were introduced clandestinely into the country from Germany. Though the original notes had been re-stamped by the Rumanian Government, this proved no deterrent to the smugglers, who with great ease proceeded to forge the Rumanian special stamp and affix it to their notes before putting them into circulation. These notes of the Banca Generala were secured by sums deposited in the Reichsbank, but, owing to the depreciation of the mark, the Germans took advantage to contest the Rumanian claim for the return of these deposits, offering as a pretext that they were in marks and had therefore become worthless.

The unification of the currency was completed by the end of 1921, the State assuming thereby a formidable financial burden which very seriously undermined the stability of its currency. Besides the loss caused by the redemption of these unsecured notes, the State had to reckon with the forfeiture of 315 million gold lei belonging to the reserves of

[1] [after World War I -- Analyst]

the National Bank which had been removed during the War 652 for safety to Moscow, and which the Bolsheviks now refused 457 to return.

Another factor which further militated against a quick recovery was the state of utter destitution in which the Germans had left that part of the country which they had occupied, and which they had taken care to despoil of everything of value that was removable. Production being utterly disorganized, the requirements of the population had to be satisfied by mass import from abroad, which necessarily caused a drain on the exiguous gold reserves. This, coupled with the fiduciary increase necessitated by the redemption of the roubles, crowns, and banknotes issued by the Austro-Germans, depreciated steadily the Rumanian currency between 1919 and 1926.

Yet another cause which retarded the economic recuperation 652 of the country was the agrarian reform, which during 458 its initial stages naturally disorganized production, and imposed on the State a huge load of debt due to the necessity of providing funds wherewith the former owners of the land might be at least partially indemnified. All these causes contributed to the inflation of the fiduciary circulation, which from 4,431 million lei at the end of 1919 passed gradually to 20,126 millions in 1926, causing a corresponding depreciation of the leu, which, from its pre-war parity of five leu to the dollar, passed to 55 in 1920, 86 in 1921, 150 in 1922, and to as much as 220 in 1926. Since that date it has steadily improved until its stabilization in February, 1929, when the rate was fixed at 167 to the dollar or 31 lei to one Swiss franc, or 81.359 lei to the (gold) pound. This instability of the currency that had lasted until 1929, had created an atmosphere of uncertainty extremely detrimental to commerce 652 and industry, and had seriously retarded their revival. And the precariousness of the situation was further accentuated by the serious budgetary deficits during the years 1919–1922. If it be remembered that during these years Rumania was confronted by other serious problems, the solution of which demanded an immense outlay incommensurate with the resources of the country, it must be admitted in fairness to the Rumanians that in spite of the very inade-

652 quate means at their disposal they yet succeeded in achieving a certain measure of success, and notwithstanding the tremendous difficulties with which they had to cope. Some of the issues demanding attention were the reorganization of the administrative machinery in the newly-annexed territories, the complete overhauling of means of communication, the readjustment of agriculture, the reconstruction of the oil industry, which had greatly suffered during the war, and the necessity of providing for the needs of the army owing to the exposed geographical position of the country.

RUMANIA'S ECONOMIC POLICY

186
454 Until the advent to power in 1928 of the National Peasant Party under M. Maniu, the policy of the country was inspired by an uncompromising nationalism that tended to the complete exclusion of foreign capital so necessary for the development of Rumania. The chief instigators of this policy were the late brothers John and Vintila Bratianu, who had raised the maxim "prin noi insine" (by ourselves alone) to the sanctity of a religious dogma. The governments that had succeeded each other since the conclusion of the war, with the exception of the one presided over by M. Vaida-Voevod, were either formed by the Bratianu, or so-called Liberal Party, or by some nominees of theirs who were quite amenable to their views, so that a certain sequence in the policy pursued may be detected throughout this period, in spite of the change of persons at the helm of the State, while any divergence in their pronouncements from the original programme may be explained by the desire to allay the mistrust engendered by the Bratianu policy. The principal aim of this policy was the attainment of self-sufficiency through the industrialization of the country. This found expression in extensive legislation dealing with the development of national resources, the chief enactment being the special mining law promulgated in July, 1924.

382
471
315 The subsoil resources had already been declared national property, and the special mining law, which was aimed par-

ticularly at the oil industry, prescribed the manner in which 471
they were to be exploited. The development of these re- 315
sources was to be entrusted to corporations or "régies" in 382
which the Government as well as private capital, both
Rumanian and foreign, would participate, but in such a
way as to permit of the majority of shares being controlled
by the Rumanian Government. At the same time, laws were 375
enacted for increasing the utilization of methane gas (C.H.4) 471
which was already in use both for lighting and heating 665
purposes in Transylvania, and which is available as a large
source of industrial power, its output being calculated to
amount to as much as 2,000 million cubic metres per annum,
the consumption of which for 1930 reached over 503 million
c. metres. The methods used by the Liberal Party to secure
a mainhold of the supplies of methane gas are particularly
illuminating of the mentality of the leaders of that party, as
they were revealed by M. Madgearu in the Rumanian Cham-
ber in 1929. An exclusive monopoly was conferred on a
group of "Liberals," who supplied the gas to industrialists
at arbitrary prices so as to force the latter out of the market
and leave this to rival firms belonging to adepts of the
"Liberal" Party. All the efforts of the Liberal Party to
promote the nationalization of this gas were aimed at secur-
ing the economic mastery of Transylvanian industries. A 376
similar law was also passed dealing with water power, the 471
reserves of which are estimated at 5,206,225 H.P., of which
amount 735,425 h.p. represent 50 per cent of the force pro- 665
duced at the Iron Gates by the Danube, 1,422,465 h.p. by
the tributaries of the Theiss, 2,164,748 h.p. by the Danube
tributaries between the Timish and the Sereth, and the re-
maining 884,665 h.p. by the Sereth and its tributaries. Of
all this potential force only about 52,000 h.p. is actually in
use. The State owned practically the totality of the railway 655
lines, most of the extensive fisheries in the marshes and delta
of the Danube, the salt mines of Ocnele Mari, Slanic, Uioara
and Targu Ocna, which are exploited as a State monopoly
and assure to it a revenue of some 700 million lei per annum,
over 75 per cent of the entire vast timberlands, several coal
and iron mines, the gold mines in the Bihor mountains, the
annual output of which is about 2,500 to 3,000 kilogrammes

1 July, 1924--Analyst

655 maritime and fluvial shipping companies, the docks, ports, warehouses, and grain elevators of Braila, Galatz, and Constantsa.

661 Laws were drafted aiming at the commercialization and
exploitation, either independently or in co-operation with
471 the State, of these State-owned properties, as well as of other
186 national resources. But the purpose which actuated the entire economic legislation enacted by the Bratianu Governments was that of preventing foreign capital from acquiring a dominant position in the country. This policy of restraining the activities of foreign capital by legal restrictions was not due to the fact that Rumania might be imperilled by foreign capital securing a preponderating influence, but mainly because the Bratianu party aimed at reserving for themselves the monopoly of such profits as could be made through the exploitation of the national resources. The direct result of this policy was to sink whatever Rumanian capital existed in big enterprises, while agriculture was entirely neglected, and to deplete completely the liquid assets of the country to such an extent that its credit organization was dislocated.

433 It is sad to record that during the years when there was a
454 plethora of capital seeking investment which could have
been easily attracted to Rumania with the object of endowing her with an adequate equipment for the development of her immense resources, such narrow and selfish views should have prevailed among her rulers. Indeed, had the opposite policy been adopted it would have secured prosperity to her even during the lean years which are now upon us. Foreign capital naturally fought shy, and refused to be enticed into enterprises in which it was not allowed to exercise legitimate control, which in many instances would have proved both salutary and indispensable. Rumania's natural wealth certainly provides a basis for industrial activity, there is an abundance of raw material, fuel, as well as a supply of cheap labour, but there is a serious deficiency of capital, which is reflected by the high rates of interest
426 prevalent. Commercial bills were discounted at rates vary-
433 ing between 18 per cent and 30 per cent, and first mortgages
454 were concluded on the basis of an average interest of 20 per

cent. It can easily be understood that no enterprises could 426
possibly bear the burden of such interests, and that if foreign 433
capital was to be excluded it would be necessary to have 454
recourse to artificial encouragements in order to create and
foster the industries it was contemplated to set up. Protec- 439
tion in its extremest form, therefore, was resorted to, and a 477
tariff wall, the highest in Europe, was erected to protect the
budding of these hot-house industries. In order to start a new industry the theoretical case for Protection is admittedly strong. Temporarily the new industry needs help, and eventually the country as a whole may gain from its creation, though in the meantime it has to bear the burden. The immediate effect is to increase the costs of the various articles produced locally to an extent that places them beyond the reach of a poor community such as the rural population of Rumania. The repercussion of an increase in the costs of articles required by the agrarian population naturally causes a rise in the costs of production of agricultural produce, which renders less easy its marketing in neutral markets in which the Rumanian peasant can neither enjoy nor demand the favour of a protective duty. So that eventually protection has proved an arm which has turned against him. In the case of Rumania, most of the industries which have been created proved to be clearly detrimental to the State. Certainly the textile industries, which import the totality of their raw material in the form of yarn from abroad, confer
no benefit except to their proprietors. The raw material is 651
usually allowed free admission, or pays a very light duty, while the finished article is sold at a price corresponding to that of a similar foreign product on which a duty amounting to as much as 300 per cent is occasionally imposed. Almost the whole of the difference is pocketed by the manufacturer, and the native purchaser gets no benefit whatever. On the contrary, he usually gets an inferior home-made article at almost the same price as he would pay for a foreign one generally of better quality. In this arrangement the State is deprived of a very important source of revenue since it desists from collecting the tariff dues it would otherwise have received if, instead of raw materials imported free, foreign dutiable manufactured articles had been imported.

651 As a result the revenue from Customs, which formed one of the basic sources of revenue for the State, has gradually ceased to function as such. Revenue from this head gradually declined from 9,243 million lei in 1927 to 2,516 million lei in 1931, though this decrease is also attributable to other causes, such as the lowering or elimination of export taxes.
651 Probably one of the most acrimonious criticisms that ever
661 appeared in the Press concerning the excessive Protectionism obtaining in Rumania was published in the *Cuvantul* for March 3rd, 1931, and the following quotation from it is worth retaining as it casts a lurid light on the inner machinery of government:

"A Rumanian State, in the true and proper meaning of the word, is non-existent. For the essential functions of this State have been usurped by certain gangs whose main preoccupation is to furnish their members with money wrested from the taxpayer. The national revenue is annually amputated of an exorbitant portion in the form of taxes, with which the State does no good. The State administration functions from bad to worse while hordes of politicians wax fat on the public treasury. The State administration has been annexed by the party bosses and the public budget has been confiscated for the benefit of the clients of these parties. And when the resources of the State revenues have no longer sufficed for these highwaymen, other means have been devised in order to rob the citizens and provide for the upkeep of these harpies. A scandalous legislation, characterized by a Protectionism without parallel in Europe, and aiming at the protection of a parasitic industry, was voted for the benefit of profiteers, who are intimately interested in all the pecuniary calculations of the politicians. Under the aegis of this Protectionism the most rapacious trusts flourish to-day in Rumania and exploit the consumer. Instead of aiding agriculture, the latter has been dislocated and ruined by the extreme favours lavished on this artificial industry, and all this for the sole purpose of satisfying the exorbitant pretensions of the industrial bandits, who have known how to turn governments and parliaments into docile instruments for fleecing the consumer. . . ."

That the extreme Protectionism adopted by Rumania is

10: Logio S-4 (no date) 1932 ED1 Rumania ED1

+ That the extreme Protectionism adopted
Rumania is

not approved by the public may also be seen from the following excerpts culled from an article published by the same paper on May 15th, 1932: "There is a profound difference between industries which utilize local raw materials and such pseudo-industries which import from abroad semi-manufactured materials and finish them off in this country. . . . The importation of semi-manufactured goods is in the great majority of cases carried on solely to evade the Customs tariffs, and if we do not see things as they are, this is on account of private interests, for the sake of which we allow a prejudicial system to continue to function. . . ." -651 661 429.

The *Argus*, too, several times attempted to call public attention to the nefarious results of the policy of bolstering up artificial industries, and especially in the case of the textile industry, on which it wrote as follows: "Why are clothing materials so costly? Because our protected textile industry sells its products at the same price as the goods imported from abroad. The encouragement given to the textile industry has resulted in increasing the cost of wearing apparel because industrialists are not content with a reasonable profit, and as a result a woollen suit to-day is a luxury. When our Custom tariff is to be revised the interests of industrialists alone should not be considered, but also those of the consumers."

As one may infer from the above, this policy of industrialization was a wild scheme which materialized on a large scale, chiefly because various politicians had been directly interested in the manufacturing concerns which had been started. 661 [651] 289 477

The case of the paper industry may be cited as an example. All the paper mills belonged to or were controlled by friends or relatives of the Bratianus. In order to secure big profits an import duty of 50 per cent was placed on paper, creating thereby a virtual monopoly of the paper trade on behalf of the owners of the mills. As they could dictate their will to the Chamber, the high duty was maintained in spite of the protest of the Opposition. For not only the public at large suffered by the high price of such an essential commodity as paper, but political interests were equally affected. Opposition parties had to pay high prices

661 for the paper necessary for their pamphlets and newspapers,
477 while the Bratianus' Press organs naturally enjoyed preferential
[289] rates. Another deplorable result of this monopoly
was the high cost of books. The same book published in
[212] Bulgaria cost about half as much as in Rumania, and this
explains to some extent the high percentage of illiterates in
the latter country, which according to the *Lupta* of May
18th, 1932 reached as high a percentage as 70 per cent of the
433 total population. The creation of industries, the raw
material of which is not indigenous, is likely in the long run
to prove extremely wasteful. They are clearly of a parasitic
nature, and their maintenance will not only continue to be a
charge on the Revenue but is likely to continue to handicap
very seriously Rumania's staple industry, agriculture. The
initial costs of installation are necessarily high, for foreign
experts have to be called in to set up the machinery, supervise,
and train the native workpeople, since there is a lack
of experienced workmen. Moreover the stringency of monetary
resources and the high rates of interest ruling necessitate
a high return on capital that can be secured only by
selling the manufactured article at the highest possible price,
a level which is usually fixed by the cost of the corresponding
foreign article, on which a heavy duty has been imposed.
The high prices will forcibly curtail output since the latter
is adjusted to the capacity of the local market, the possibilities
of which are restrained owing to the low buying
power of the peasantry. The more consumption is reduced
the more manufacturers will endeavour to recoup themselves
by further raising their prices, which can be attained
only by increasing the protective duty. Thus a vicious circle
is created, to the great disadvantage of the peasantry, who
[162] constitute 80 per cent of the population and who have to
defray in the same proportion the expenses of these experimental
attempts to industrialize Rumania. It is obvious that
the high prices paid by the peasantry for manufactured
articles affect adversely the cost of agricultural produce;
even the transport rates of the latter stand high in order to
compensate for the low preferential rates granted to local
manufactures. One need not, therefore, be surprised if
Rumanian agriculturalists can no longer market their pro-

duce remuneratively on the basis of present world prices. 433 At first sight it would appear that the simplest solution would be the abandonment of the present policy. An alleviation of the burden imposed on the peasantry would reduce drastically their costs of production and would better enable them to adjust the price of their produce to the prevailing world prices. If capital were withdrawn from industry and applied instead to the improvement of the means of cultivation, or to the diversification and intensification of agricultural production, Rumanian agricultural produce would be in a better position than at present to meet competition in neutral markets. It is true that as a result of the present tendency among industrial states to develop their own agricultural resources, and to curtail imports of agricultural produce by raising their tariff barriers, agrarian countries find it increasingly difficult to market their produce. Yet there is a possibility for the latter to secure regular markets if they would give up in exchange their attempts at general industrialization; and it is surprising that so far no understanding has been arrived at on these lines between industrial and agricultural countries, both parties persisting in a policy that is mutually ruining them. The adherents of the policy (186) of industrialization partly explain their attitude by the necessity of severing all connection with former enemy states like Hungary, since the latter country would use commercial intercourse to further its irredentist propaganda in the territory which has reverted to Rumania. It is also partly explained by the necessity of making the country as self-supporting as possible so as to render it independent of foreign help in case of another war. So military considerations also tend to intensify economic nationalism, and as the military are fairly powerful and can make themselves heard there is little hope of a change in the policy which is being pursued. This policy of economic nationalism seems therefore to be, on the one hand, the direct outcome of the unbridled nationalism actually existing, and on the other, the result of a surreptitious understanding between politicians and profiteers to despoil the public, as the *Cuvantul* points out in the article quoted a little higher.

There are of course men of independent character who 0 00

006 view this question from another angle, in whose conception political and economic domination have become identified and to whom the policy of economic nationalism appears to offer the best safeguard for their country's independence. Industrialization has also certain partisans, who draw their arguments in its favour from rational grounds. Their most vociferous spokesman appears to be M. Manoilescu, a former Sub-Secretary of State in General Averescu's Cabinet in 1926, and later a member of the National Peasant Government and subsequently that of M. M. Iorga-Argentoianu. He withdrew from this post in order to secure a more stable office, that of the Director of the National Bank. He seems to have made a miscalculation, however, as he fell out with M. Argentoianu, the Minister of Finances, and had to give up his situation, not without protests and a lawsuit. M. Manoilescu was Rumanian delegate at the Second International Economic Conference held in Geneva in 1930, in the course of which he set forth the disadvantages under which agricultural States laboured in comparison with industrial communities, and emphasized the advantages which the former would derive by attempting to industrialize themselves. His arguments were based on the following [433] figures he himself cited: The output of an industrial worker, after making allowances for the cost of raw materials, is roughly 3,600 Swiss francs or 720 dollars per annum. On the other hand, the net output per annum of an agricultural worker cultivating cereals in Central and Eastern Europe is only 600 Swiss francs or 120 dollars, that is six times less. It is easy to deduce from these figures the advantages that a State would derive by abandoning agriculture and diverting the energy of its citizens to industry, especially when one makes light of the attendant difficulties. National income would increase six-fold, and prosperity would *ipso facto* ensue.

M. Manoilescu has recently published a book invoking various specious arguments in favour of the policy of extreme industrialization. He undoubtedly possesses a versatile mind and a surprising ability to twist figures and facts in support of his thesis, a faculty which tallies with the intellectual agility he has displayed in adapting his political con-

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victions to those of the prevailing party in power, but with all the extreme brilliancy of his argumentation he will hardly shake the convictions at which one arrives concerning the results of Protectionism in Rumania, and which may best be summarized in J. Novicov'c pronouncement on the subject: "*Le système protecteur est une spoliation mutuelle autorisée par la loi . . . il est non seulement une spoliation mutuelle des citoyens d'un même pays, mais une spoliation mutuelle des citoyens de tous les pays. . . . Tout gaspillage dans les frais de production diminue la masse des richesses existantes et par consequent la masse du bien-être genèral. . . .*" (*Luttes entre Sociétés humaines*, p. 208.)

In a lecture M. Manoilescu delivered in Bucarest during January, 1932, under the auspices of the Rumanian Social Institute, he still harped on his favourite theme, namely, that Rumania was exchanging the labour of 600,000 men engaged in agriculture for that of 60,000 men engaged in industry and that this was the source of Rumania's wretchedness. The Russian Five-Year Plan seems to have been obsessing his fancy, for he exhorted his audience "to draw inspiration from the methods of others so as to apply them in their own midst under a controlled economic system," assuring them that "the industrialization of Rumania would invigorate its agriculture to such an extent that the latter would be able to absorb the products of its industry. . . ." According to him an agricultural people could develop only if it pursued the fostering of its agriculture parallel with its industry, as had been demonstrated by the example of Russia. It is difficult to gauge the impression created on Rumanian intellectuals by M. Manoilescu's fine spun and twisted logic, but his advocacy of applying Russian nationalization methods to Rumania is undoubtedly an example of the attraction the former country is beginning to exert in the Near East, and the gradual dispelling of the misgivings that were once entertained about Russia's economic future.

STATE FINANCES

On the attainment of her independence Rumania was 652 obliged to endow her economic organization with the necessary equipment. Owing to the primitive economic condition

652 in which she subsisted it was impossible for her to provide out of her budget the requisite means for the construction of roads and railways, ports, etc., and she therefore began to seek foreign loans in order to finance these productive works, which of course could yield no returns for some years. The State budget, therefore, was burdened at first with heavy charges on these loans while it derived no corresponding revenue from the expenditure involved. This will explain why, up to 1905, the budgets closed usually with a deficit. From 1905 to 1914, however, the situation changed, and every year showed a surplus varying from 41 to 110 million gold lei, a sum that represented about one-fifth of the total budget revenue. This favourable state of affairs naturally changed radically after the war. For the period 1919 to 1922, though the budgets did not contain any provisions for the service of the national debt, they nevertheless showed an excess of expenditure over revenue that was alarming. These budgetary deficits were covered by an increase in the fiduciary circulation that naturally tended to depress still further the value of the national currency. The steady depreciation of the leu rendered the balancing of the budget an exceedingly difficult process, as it was impossible to estimate beforehand the exact amount of expenditure which increased as the leu fell, seeing that the State had to make payments abroad in gold, while the revenue was also adversely affected owing to the losses suffered by tradesmen through currency depreciation and its inevitable corollaries—curtailment of credit and abnormally high rates of interest.

From 1923 onwards the Liberal Party attempted to put some order in the national finances, and by a drastic policy of compression it managed apparently to balance the budgets. There were many who condemned this policy of excessive economy that tended to cut down all expenses, even on items that were essential for the development of the country's resources.

The Bratianus' economic policy was inspired by two main principles. One was doing without foreign aid, and the other that of achieving the revalorization of the leu, two aims that mutually excluded one another. The revalorization of the leu was to be achieved by balancing the budget, and the method adopted was to cut down expenditure indiscriminately. Essential credits for the maintenance and repairing of roads and railways were drastically curtailed until the means of communication became almost useless. The salaries of State functionaries were reduced to an extent which no longer sufficed to keep them alive, and consequently the public service became completely disorganized and corrupted, for the functionaries had, after all, to make up for the inadequacy of their emoluments either by indulging in peculations or by accepting bribes. The rabid xenophobia of the Bratianus was in no way shared by the thinking public, as may be inferred from the following article published by the *Argus* while they were in office:

"From our first appearance in history until the present moment we have done nothing but change masters, and nevertheless we have not perished. Why should we not appeal for help to the capital reserves of civilized States so that we may raise ourselves to their level? Instead of copying Western civilization we have, after the war, pursued an economic policy which has placed us in a situation parallel to that of Russia. We have broken up the large estates in order to create small rural holdings without practically indemnifying the owners. In Russia the same thing was done without any indemnity being paid. We have severed our commercial relations with Germany without creating new ones. We have placed the control of the nation's economic life in the hands of the State. We have concentrated public wealth in the hands of a minority. We have disorganized the system of transport. All these measures have been applied in one form or another in Russia, but nowhere else in civilized Europe. We are determined partisans of Western civilization as we are conscious of the necessity of orientating ourselves after the ideals of the West and not those of the East. The policy of abusing and vilipending foreign capital is due to a misunderstanding. The modernization of our State with the aid of foreign capital is an indispensable and vital necessity. The economic decadence of our people brought about through this policy of isolation will bring about the decadence of the State organism. A weak State will not secure immunity from the Bolshevik bacillus. If we

652 do not assimilate our conditions and life to those of the West we shall be forced to assimilate them to those ruling in the East. We must emphatically reject such an ideal. . . ."

By 1928 this policy had brought the country to a complete deadlock, and foreign financial aid had to be appealed to in order to get it out of the *impasse* into which it had been driven. Not only trade and industry had been brought to a standstill, but the public treasury was also in desperate straits through the disorder and dissimulation that had been practised. The much-advertised budget surpluses of 1924 and 1925 were found out to be fictitious, and instead they left a deficit of three and a half milliard lei to be dealt with, while the year 1928 was threatening to close with a deficit of 6½ milliards.

The National Peasant Party which came to power at the end of 1928 secured two foreign loans in 1929 and 1931, of a total amount of 24 milliard lei. They were used up in the stabilization of the currency, the paying off of pressing debts, and the liquidation of budgetary deficits, while a small part was earmarked for the improvement of the railways. Owing to the prevailing maladministration, the loans failed to restore the economic situation of the country, and, as the *Argus* of May 6th, 1932, declared, "to-day, barely three years since we contracted the loan of 1929, we are as badly off as we were before we borrowed the money, for we have to face 6½ milliards of deficits due to our bad management. . . ." The situation, unhappily, is far worse than may be inferred from the above statement. For the policy of dissimulation and insincerity in public accounts which was constantly practised, in order to conceal expenditure of public money on unjustifiable purposes, has led to an accumulation of a huge deficit of some 21 milliard lei. Thus, between the budget revenue forecasts and the actual receipts there is a tremendous deficit of 6,583 millions in 1928, 682 millions in 1929, 6,295 millions in 1930, and 7,370 millions in 1931, and it may be added that the current year 1932 will also close with a deficit of at least some 6½ milliard lei. This policy of making exaggerated revenue forecasts was dictated by the desire to justify expenditure on certain heads of the budget which might have been reduced or suppressed.

STATE FINANCES

It is true that a drastic retrenchment was effected in the expenditure of 1931, and that the whole 35,305 millions provided for were not spent, so that the difference of 7,370 millions between the revenue forecast and the actual revenue will not correspond to the real deficit for that year, which will be smaller than that figure. The 1928 budget deficit, too, was partly covered by the proceeds of the 1929 loan, but these modifications will hardly alter the desperate situation which the Rumanian Exchequer has reached, and owing to which the salaries of State functionaries are in many cases seven months in arrears. For besides the budget deficits, there are some 10 milliard lei which the State owes to contractors, outstanding Treasury bills of an approximate value of one milliard, and various sums the Exchequer has borrowed from autonomous public institutions such as the Pensioners' Fund, Savings Banks, Chambers of Commerce, in order to face certain pressing needs. No real estimate of these sums can be made owing to the unparalleled confusion reigning in the public accounts, which are deliberately doctored in order to cover up the malversations and the continuous dissipation of public money. What is even more serious is the multiform nature of the guarantees the State has given concerning the debts contracted by the various autonomous administrations such as that of the Monopolies, the Railways, etc., as well as the charges it has explicitly assumed towards other establishments. Thus it is estimated that the guarantee extended to the National Bank, securing it against losses through the application of the law concerning the cancellation of agrarian debts will involve the State in a loss of at least some 5 milliard lei, and this is not the only loss the State will incur on this head, for similar commitments were entered into with various other establishments. Such squandering of public funds and such utter disregard of the consequences of this phenomenal profligacy have certainly no counterpart among European nations, and they clearly show that the only hope of salving the country is to place its finances under a rigorous and severe foreign control. For no party has proved itself immune from this mania of squandering the national patrimony. In fact it would be strange and something bordering on the miraculous if any

65 did so, for by nature the Rumanian is a jolly wastrel, and economy is foreign to his idiosyncrasy. If Rumanian finances during a brief period prior to the war were on a sound basis, this must be attributed to the energetic supervision of the late King Charles I, who would tolerate no nonsense on this head.

THE BUDGET, NATIONAL REVENUE, & PUBLIC DEBT

1931 BUDGET.

Revenue:	Lei.
Direct taxation	9,310,000,000
Indirect taxation: Customs	4,575,000,000
Alcohol and spirituous liquors	1,250,000.000
Other consumption taxes	2,589,960,546
Turnover tax	2,000,000,000
Theatres, etc.	100,000,000
Stamp and registration fees	4,150,000,000
Surplus from Monopolies and State commercial enterprises	5,477,917,747
Exploitation of State properties	767,500,522
Ministry of Finance	850,583,674
,, the Interior	37,988,000
,, Justice	146,950,000
,, Foreign Affairs	70,000,000
,, Agriculture and Domains	196,490,000
,, Labour, Health and Social Welfare	24,262,476
,, Industry and Commerce	167,370,000
,, the Army	124,269,352
,, Public Works and Communications	12,650,000
,, Education and Cults	29,011,354
Total	31,879,953,671
Sum resulting from reduction of salaries of employees at the Ministries, Monopolies and State Enterprises	3,426,000,000
Grand total	35,305,953,671

Expenditure:	Lei
Ministry of Finance	12,289,590,039
,, the Interior	1,716,234,526
,, Justice	1,314,876,270
,, Foreign Affairs	262,140,000
,, Agriculture and Domains	919,680,116
,, Labour, Health and Public Welfare	1,267,659,541
,, Industry and Commerce	405,028,771
,, War	10,204,029,661
,, Public Works and Communications	131,857,420
,, Education and Cults	6,419,666,327
Presidency of the Council of Ministers	75,191,000
Total	35,005,953,671
Fund for extraordinary and supplementary credits	300,000,000
Grand total	35,305,953,671

BUDGET AND NATIONAL REVENUE

The forecasts for the revenue were not realized, revenue receipts for the year 1931 attaining 27,616 millions, from which 2718 millions should be deducted as this sum was obtained by a curtailment in the salaries of officials. The 1932 budget was prepared on the basis of the revenue receipts for 1931, since it had become evident that this yield would not be exceeded. It is balanced at the approximate figure of 24½ milliard lei. The forecasts for the revenue, however, have so far not been realized, the first five months having yielded only 6,700 millions. Owing to the serious decrease in the revenue receipts it was decided that a sufficient sum should be set aside each month to meet the requirements of the debt service, and the balance only would be distributed to the various ministries to allow them to face their most urgent necessities. In consequence, strict orders were issued that no expenses were to be incurred beyond the sum thus available. During the first months of the year some 1,250 millions were thus allocated monthly for the purpose of paying salaries and pensions, 505 millions were earmarked for the public debt, and another 250 millions were assigned for the purchase of materials, etc., but owing to the continuous diminution of the revenue even this very limited expenditure cannot be maintained, and the administration has been obliged to suspend the payment of salaries, which in certain cases are seven months in arrears.

The above budget figures do not show the total amount of State expenditure, for there are autonomous administrations which have independent budgets of their own, as, for instance, the railways, post office, monopolies, etc., and only the net results of the operation of these autonomous administrations are included in the budgets. The total amount of these autonomous budgets for 1931 was 21,888,333,272 lei. At the same time the grand total of the budgets of these administrations and that of the State for the year 1932 amounts to about 52 milliard lei. The service of the public debt for 1932 absorbs 6,764 millions, which does not seem to be a disproportionate charge as compared with a grand total public expenditure of 52 milliards, all the more so seeing that 2,150 millions are payable by the autonomous administrations of the monopolies on account of the service of

652 the loans concluded in 1929 and 1931, and some 930 millions are for the service of the internal debt.

The national revenue for the years 1926–1928 was computed at an average of 171 milliard lei annually, of which 110 milliards, or 64 per cent, were contributed by agriculture. The revenue *per capita* was computed at 9,709 for 1927, 11,324 for 1928, 10,400 for 1929, 7,875 for 1930, and at only 5,523 lei for 1931, the fall recorded being due to the drop in the prices of raw materials. State expenditure, as represented by the budget for 1931, absorbs approximately 25 per cent of the national revenue, but this is not the only expenditure which has to be faced. Thus for the year 1930, the last year for which complete figures are available, enabling us to form a true estimate of the total social expenditure incurred, we have:

Budgets of the State and of the Autonomous Administrations: 59,908,750,553 lei.

Budgets of the Communes, Municipalities, and Departments: 10,156,051,778 lei.

These sums represent a total charge *per capita* of 3,920 lei, while the national revenue was estimated at a *per capita* charge of 7,875 lei. This amounts to a charge of approximately 50 per cent for social expenditure, an altogether disproportionately heavy burden which largely accounts for the catastrophic decrease in the revenue, and points to the
439 gradual pauperization of the country. This inference may also be drawn from the fact of the steady diminution of
652 imports, which have declined enormously since 1927, not only in value but also in bulk, which proves that the buying power of the people has been gravely impaired, as may be seen from the following figures, the diminution in quantity indicating that the fall was in no way due to the drop in prices:

		Value		*Tons*
Imports for 1927	...	33,428	million lei	1,008,069
,, 1930	...	22,541	,,	773,745
,, 1931	...	15,858	,,	564,338

BUDGET AND NATIONAL REVENUE

It is obvious that the present administrative machinery is 647
too sumptuous an affair and that Rumania cannot afford 652
to continue to live on such an ostentatious scale. Retrenchment is imperatively needed as well as a rapid return to methods of austerity, however disagreeable these may be to a people who are naturally inclined to profligacy. A drastic economy could be effected by the dismissal of well over 50,000 State functionaries who are superfluous. The *Revista Functionarilor publici*, their mouthpiece and organ, admits that in 1914 the number of State functionaries was 90,334. The war brought about a territorial increase of 216 per cent, so that proportionately the number of functionaries should be 195,133, but by 1930 there were as many as 245,187, or about 50,000 more than necessary. But apparently this total does not disclose the whole truth, for the writer was able to ascertain that while, according to the figures published in the above paper, the Ministries of Public Instruction, Home Affairs, and War had respectively 68,977, 28,894, and 32,630 public officials at the end of 1931, the numbers figuring on their respective pay-lists were 82,821, 31,318, and 33,533. To these enormous armies of officials should be added the staffs employed by the municipalities, etc., which would bring the total number up to nearly half a million. That public opinion is fairly alert on the matter and expects a drastic cutting down may be inferred from the following open letter published in the *Argus* for 16th May, 1932, which is of particular interest from many points of view:

"Rumania has a population of 18 millions, of which only [162]
13 millions are Rumanians by race. Out of the 500,000 public functionaries 99 per cent are Rumanians by race, and a bare 1 per cent is recruited from among Hungarians, Germans, Jews, and Ukrainians. The proportion of the non-Rumanian elements in the public services is therefore infinitesimal, which proves that some 5 millions of people can live without constituting a charge to the budgets of the State, municipalities, and 'régies.' Why should not Rumanian functionaries once dismissed from the public services be able to fend for themselves as do those members of the ethnic minorities who receive no support from the budgets?"

It is admitted publicly that over 100,000 functionaries

647 could be dismissed without the working of the administra-
652 tive machine being impaired in any way, and several instances are given of the plethora of officials. M. Bratanescu, deputy for Tighina, for example, pointed out in the Chamber that in his town, with a population of 31,698, there were 130 teachers, but as there were not enough children for each to have a full class, whenever an inspector came down, each teacher used to borrow children from the other classes in order to complete the number of his own so that he might escape being reprimanded by the inspector.

652 Another head on which various economies could be
657 effected is pensions, which absorb about one-fifth of the total revenue, and many of which are served out to people who have not the slightest justification for drawing them. The tendency to spend overmuch for the upkeep of the social services is a characteristic trait of Rumania and was noticed and commented on many years ago by one of her distinguished social writers, M. C. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, in his work "Neoiobâgia." Referring to the period 1910–1911, he pointed out that the State budget and those of the communes absorbed over one-third of the national revenue, and what remained for the subsistence of the population amounted to 123 gold lei per head, or almost 4,000 lei, a figure closely approximating to the 3,955 lei which, according to the calculations given above, represented the net income per head for
647 1930. The above-cited writer condemned very caustically
652 the profligate methods of the administration as likely to bring the State to ruin:

"By withdrawing annually from production these big sums and lavishing them on a parasitic bureaucracy, the State sets the example of a mad waste . . . by letting the bureaucracy spend extravagantly what the other classes create by hard toil, people form the illusion that this country is very prosperous and that it is easy to live in it comfortably. . . . This hypertrophy of the State organism is one of the most pernicious sicknesses which attack modern societies." (p. 455.)

647 It is indeed a great pity that no political party ever en-
651 deavoured to tackle the problem of thoroughly overhauling the administrative machine of the country, but that instead

a policy of drift has so far been practised. The alarming 647 falling-off in the revenue receipts is nevertheless a disquieting 651 sign which ought to impress sufficiently the Rumanian authorities, and rouse them from their apathy, if they are to avoid the disaster they are heading for. For the drying up of the revenue is not entirely due to fraud, but also to the gradual pauperization of the masses. The *Cuvantul* of December 29th, 1928 wrote as follows:

"There is no country where fiscal fraud is so intensely 657 practised as in Rumania . . . though fraud is due partly to the unjust distribution of the fiscal charges. A sane fiscal policy should take into consideration that the ratepayer is poor. We should not be far wrong if we affirmed that at least 80 per cent of the population are in debt. If these 80 per cent of the population toil in order to pay off their debts, or only the interest on their debts, how can the State expect to raise from them what it needs for the public services? . . ."

Rumania's main source of income is her export trade. All other items are of secondary importance and can hardly offset 457 the important payments she is obliged to make on behalf of her indebtedness abroad. During the years 1930 to 1931 there was an excess of exports over imports which enabled her to meet her payments abroad, all the more so since foreign capital invested in Rumania is no longer productive and therefore next to no interest on it is being actually remitted. On the contrary, it may be said that, owing to the crisis, foreign enterprises in Rumania require financial aid which is being supplied from abroad, a process which helps to offset the total of foreign payments Rumania has to make. An automatic equilibrium has therefore been attained which allows Rumania to face her payments abroad without drawing on her gold reserves or necessitating her to have recourse to foreign borrowing, and this situation will be maintained so long as she continues to have plentiful harvests as those of 1930 and 1931 and her population remains in its present state of poverty, which prevents it from purchasing foreign articles, a state of things which explains the present excessively low figure of imports. Of course these recent years cannot be taken as representative of normal times, and for this purpose a table showing the balance of payments during

U57 1925 has been prepared. The figures for 1929 and 1930 are those of the reports prepared for the League of Nations. These should be taken as approximate estimates. There seems to be a serious error in the item of transports, and probably a much larger income must have been derived from transit traffic than is indicated, for the total receipts of the railways for 1929 and 1930 amounted respectively to 12,375 and 11,291 millions.

Figures are stated in millions of lei.

Net Income from	1925	1929	1930
Excess of exports over imports ...	nil	nil	5985
Foreigners and foreign legations ...	1000	700	600
Transports	500	129	75
Professional and other services... ...	150	314	204
Emigrant remittances	600	1000	860
Interest on Rumanian capital abroad	150	130	140
Fresh foreign capital invested in Rumania	4500	—	4135
Reparations	—	681	274
Government receipts	—	70	64
Excess of proceeds of loans and advances over the purchase abroad of Rumanian bonds	—	15095	1622
Totals	6900	18119	13959
Net Outgoings			
Excess of imports over exports ...	786	449	—
Expenses of Rumanians and Rumanian Legations abroad	700	672	586
Insurances and Services	100	92	91
Dividends and interest on private capital invested in Rumania	7550	2860	2931
Interest on State Debt...	3210[1]	2930	3918
Earnings of foreigners remitted abroad	150	—	—
Totals	12496	7003	7526
Balances	−5596	+11116	+6433

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[1] The 1925 figure includes the amount of the sinking fund.

BUDGET AND NATIONAL REVENUE

From the above it may be seen that Rumania, in order to 457 meet her foreign debt payments, requires that her favourable trade balance should attain 7½ milliards and even further expand. The surplus of 1929 is to be attributed to the proceeds of the loan floated during that year. The surplus of 1930 is ascribable not only to the inflow of foreign capital but also to the very substantial excess of exports over imports. As an even more important excess of exports over imports was registered in 1931 (6,226 millions), that a considerable inflow of money followed upon the conclusion of a loan in Paris, and as, further, there was little or no outflow of money on account of foreign private capital invested in the country, it may be safely surmized that the balance of payments for 1931 must have shown an even more favourable result than that of the preceding year.

Owing to the deplorable plight of the Exchequer and its 652 inability to find the means wherewith to pay the salaries of 457 State officials, the view has been gaining ground that the State ought to suspend the payment of its debt service. The majority of the Press have widely approved and encouraged this idea, which is becoming exceedingly popular, as might be naturally supposed in a community which has deliberately fostered contempt for all engagements. Both public and Press, taking into consideration the default of adjoining States, find that it would be quite natural for Rumania to follow in their footsteps, since she has been equally affected by the present crisis. The fact that Austria, Bulgaria, Greece, and Hungary have been obliged to suspend their foreign payments abroad because they are unable to secure the requisite foreign currencies while Rumania, at least for the present, is not faced with any difficulties concerning the question of transfer, is entirely lost sight of. Even newspapers closely connected with the Government have joined in this campaign, and seeing that former Ministers like M. Junian, of the National Peasant Party, have openly indicated this measure as a panacea for the evils from which the country is suffering, it may be that eventually the question may be raised by the Government and foreign bondholders sounded on the subject. Should such be the case this delicate question will require to be handled with great tact and

457 suavity, as the susceptibilities of France have to be carefully
652 considered, for her political support is necessary to Rumania, and the latter cannot afford to jeopardize it for the sake of such transient monetary relief as the suspension of her public debt service might afford. Should this contingency arise and foreign bondholders be confronted with a demand for an alleviation in the charge of the actual debt (a revision of which may be justifiable to a certain extent, because the fall in world prices has increased the burden of the world's debts by at least 30 per cent, and has therefore correspondingly improved the position of creditors), then it would be well if British bondholders would keep in mind that the depreciation in sterling has already effected this readjustment so far as *they* are concerned. In fact this fall in sterling has brought about an annual saving of some 450 to 500 million
000 lei to the Rumanian Exchequer. This matter is alluded to because in recent negotiations, British delegates have meekly accepted the same terms as were offered to other creditor States, the currency of which had not sustained a loss of some 30 per cent of its intrinsic value. The agreement reached on the Bulgarian loans issued under the auspices of the League of Nations may be taken as an example. French and American creditors will be receiving 50 per cent of the stipulated interest in francs and dollars, while the British investor will be receiving this 50 per cent in his depreciated currency, so that in reality he will be receiving only 35 per cent. At first sight it would seem that our official delegates might have stood up and insisted on equality of treatment with other countries and not contented themselves with a settlement which is distinctly more favourable to others. They might also have seized this opportunity and done something for the commercial debts due to our of foreign credits, and under pressure from French bankers, has been obliged to use her slender monetary resources for nationals, which are 'frozen hard,' because Bulgaria, devoid the payment of her State rather than of her private debts. This unilateral way of meeting obligations is certainly not to our advantage as a nation, for these commercial debts owing to our exporters constitute their capital, and so long as they are deprived of this money they must find it impossible to finance other exports from this country.

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finance other exports from this country.* The total amount of private foreign capital invested in Rumania is estimated at some 28,300 million lei, according to the figures supplied to the League of Nations for 1930, but it seems to have been somewhat underestimated, judging from the amount of interest annually payable on foreign investments, which has always been computed at a much higher figure than 2860 or 2931 millions for 1929 and 1930 as is the case of the above-mentioned report.

The following table gives particulars of the Public Debt on January 1st, 1932, totalling 175,559,644,622 lei, of which 162,182,471,062 represent the external debt payable in foreign currency. The *per capita* indebtedness would therefore amount to 9,753 lei, on the basis of a population of 18 millions.

PUBLIC DEBT IN LEI

	Nominal amount.	Amount outstanding.
Pre-war loan	1,725,812,000	410,337,300
National Loan 1916 5%	400,000,000	354,194,800
District Railways Loan	39,000,000	23,678,413
Non-redeemable Loans:		
4% 1900 Brasov Schools	963,500	963,500
5% 1910 Pasturages	20,000,000	20,000,000
4% 1912 Mortmain	34,894,487	10,541,849
Union Loan 5% 1919	1,143,143,800	1,030,607,500
Reconstruction 5% 1920	2,730,911,000	2,477,280,000
,, ,, ,, (unblocked)	315,000,000	306,899,000
Expropriation Loan 5% 1922 redeemable	6,500,000,000	6,500,000,000
,, ,, ,, ,, non-redeemable	800,000,000	800,000,000
,, Mortgage Debt	560,000,000	560,000,000

DEBTS DEVOLVING FROM THE PEACE TREATIES

Annuities owing to Arad-Temisoara Rly.	11,843,765	8,796,616
Pre-war Austro-Hungarian loans stamped in Rumania	146,089,353	146,089,353
Rumanian quota of 3½% 1897 Hungarian Loan	37,926,002	37,926,002
Austrian Loan for Rly. Cernauti—N. Sulita	2,306,800	2,306,800
Loans of Bucovina 4% 1894 and 1910	6,242,600	6,242,600

FLOATING DEBTS

Internal Treasury Bonds	687,652,430	687,652,430

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* Our exporters to countries which have placed restrictions on exchange operations suffer yet from another disability, in so far as what available foreign exchange there may be is granted to local importers of raw materials in order that the native industry may not be stinted of its supplies. Naturally there is no foreign exchange left for importers of manufactured goods after the former have been supplied.

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PUBLIC DEBT IN FOREIGN CURRENCIES.	Currency.	Nominal amount.	Outstanding amount of debt on Jan. 1st, 1932, in foreign currency.	Amount in lei.
Unified Stock 4% Paris Agreement	Gold Francs	433,000,000	290,256,540	9,363,095,467
,, ,, 5% ,, ,,	,, ,,	87,000,000	69,165,170	2,231,130,054
,, ,, 4½% London ,,	,, lei	60,000,000	57,343,670	1,849,792,107
,, ,, 4% Berl ,,	,, ,,	425,000,000	118,551,225	3,824,225,416
,, ,, 1889, 4%	,, ,,	21,000,000	6,475,680	208,892,485
,, ,, 4½%	,, ,,	133,500,000	77,092,795	2,486,859,381
,, ,, 5%	,, ,,	57,000,000	18,172,590	586,211,408
,, ,, Consolidated 1922. London 4%	£ sterling	35,000,000	25,774,730	20,970,062,581
,, ,,	,,	2,500,000	1,613,760	1,312,938,998
,, ,, 6% 1925	Italian Lire	41,145,300	27,619,200	242,993,721
,, ,, 5% 1926 (for purchase of private rys)	£ sterling	680,315	646,115	525,672,702
,, ,, ,, ,, (,, ,, of Maramures rys)	,,	8,630	8,280	6,736,525
,, ,, ,, ,, (,, ,, of Arad-Cenad rys)	,,	111,890	107,410	87,387,702
,, ,, ,, ,, (,, ,, of Somes rys)	,,	148,740	139,710	113,666,658
WAR DEBTS.				
War Debt to Great Britain	£ sterling	31,295,000	30,395,000	24,729,068,050
,, ,, ,, U.S.A.	Dollars	122,506,260	119,806,260	20,029,210,555
,, ,, ,, Italy	Italian Lire	247,500,000	173,500,000	1,526,453,000
,, ,, ,, France	Gold Francs	924,105,350	659,562,566	21,276,169,270
,, damages, Petroleum, 1916	£ sterling	16,475,818	15,361,050	12,497,596,670
DEBTS OF RECONSTRUCTION AND STABILISATION.				
Loan 7% 1926	Italian Lire	200,000,000	165,495,566	1,456,029,989
,, ,, 1929 Stabilisation	£ sterling	2,000,000	1,945,500	1,582,839,345
,, ,, ,, ,,	Dollars	69,000,000	67,172,200	11,229,848,396
,, ,, ,, ,,	French Francs	561,638,000	546,320,600	3,587,399,930
,, 7½% 1919 Reconstruction	,, ,,	1,325,000,000	1,322,250,000	8,660,737,500

DEBTS DEVOLVING FROM THE PEACE TREATIES.	Currency.	Nominal amount.	Outstanding amount of debt on Jan. 1st, 1932, in foreign currency.	Amount in lei.
Perpetual Stock 4%	Fl. gold	143,884,877	47,482,009	3,829,186,649
4½% 1913 Hungarian amort.	Gold Crowns	35,368,996	9,903,318	335,434,323
Perpetual 1910 Hungarian 4%	„ „	63,195,660	17,694,784	599,338,286
4½% Stock 1914 Amort.	„ „	103,436,037	28,962,090	980,972,066
Annuities to Ry. Cos.	French Francs	30,555,500	23,860,596	156,286,909
Agrarian "A" Optants	Crowns	25,735,728	16,979,987	575,127,472
Rys. St. E.G.	French Francs	71,941,574	17,077,230	550,877,285
Loans, liberated in Crowns and Florins	Swiss „	42,500,000	42,500,000	1,370,965,000
VARIOUS				
Rumanian quota of Danube Com. Loan	Gold Francs	2,125,000	1,087,500	35,080,575
Relief Bonds, England	£ sterling	3,703,012	2,976,575	2,421,711,654
„ „ Australia	„	201,982	162,358	132,093,333
„ „ Denmark	Danish Crowns	201,982	154,785	6.934,810
„ „ France	French Francs	824,761	662,964	4,342,415
„ „ Norway	Norv. Crowns	84,159	64,493	2,889,504
„ „ Norway	£ sterling	3,366	2,580	2,099,265
„ „ Sweden	Swed. Crowns	151,486	116,088	5,201,108
„ „ Switzerland	Swiss Francs	269,310	206,380	6,657,406
William Pyton and Anne du Pont Pey, New York	Dollars	548,911	152,600	25,511,668
G. & D. Perkins, New York	„	543,297	152,600	25,511,668
Paul Stuppel, New York	„	1,260,291	314,990	52,660,028
Cie Franc. d'Etudes et d'Entr. Coloniales	£ sterling	19,614	4,355	3,543,387
Marché Central de Cuirs, Peaux et Laines	„	17,269	4,815	3,917,862
Bca d'Italia Roma	Italian Lire	13,731,200	1,716,400	15,100,857
New York Trust Co., New York	£ sterling	2,107	948	771,669
Heirs of Anton Dimou	„	9,854	2,457	1,998,990
Co-op. Wholesale Society, Manchester	„	991,023	740,818	602,722,523
Banque Belgo-Helvetique, Brussels	Belg. Francs	63,454,655	12,814,660	59,516,510

TRADE

139 Pre-War Rumania was known as one of the chief grain-exporting countries. She occupied the third and occasionally the second place for maize, attaining and sometimes surpassing the one million ton figure of the United States, while for wheat she ranked fifth, coming immediately after the U.S. In spite of the fact that other countries have vastly increased their agricultural production, yet in 1931 Rumania still came second in the exports of maize and fifth in those of wheat, though after 1928 cereals no longer formed the largest group of her exports, for petroleum and its derivatives came to rank first, attaining 33.26 per cent of the value, and 40.80 per cent of the bulk of exports in 1929, as against 30.63 per cent and 24.37 per cent respectively for cereals. The following table sets out the distribution of exports during the last three years:

	1929		1930		1931	
Products	Quantity Tons.	Value in millions of Lei.	Quantity Tons.	Value in millions of Lei.	Quantity Tons.	Value in millions of Lei.
Animal	95,439	3596	121,999	3,303	119,877	2,685
Vegetal	3,910,333	15,202	5,055,770	14,404	5,126,764	12,145
Mineral	3,024.947	9,887	4,018,709	10,668	4,788 231	6,149
Combined	32.403	260	17,942	148	18,316	959

The group of vegetal products includes also timber, the exports of which amounted in 1929 to 4,679 million lei and represented 16.17 per cent of the total exports and 28.02 per cent of their bulk. Timber exports have steadily declined in value, falling to 3,094 million lei in 1930, and to 2,368 millions in 1931. The main export products of Rumania being petroleum, cereals, and timber, she is exposed to suffer more than any other nation from the Russian policy of dumping, since the principal goods exported by Russia are of an identical kind. As Russia's policy is to expand her exports to the utmost in order to secure the necessary foreign credits wherewith to buy the requisite machinery for her industrial equipment, it is to be feared that this Russian competition will be likely to cause immense prejudice to Rumania, who,

for reasons easily understood, is incapable of competing 439
against her northern neighbour. Having to face likewise in the grain trade the formidable competition of the trans-oceanic countries which have industrialized their agricultural production, Rumania finds herself to-day in a most unenviable position, which explains why she is so desperately anxious to conclude preferential agreements with European industrial countries, so that she may have the possibility of disposing of her products at better prices than those at which similar Russian goods are being offered.

In order to market the 1931 harvest the Rumanian Government was obliged to grant a subsidy of 1,000 lei per ton of cereals exported, but after paying about one milliard lei in subsidies, it found that the system constituted too great a strain on its resources and the subsidy was suddenly suspended, many exporters not even receiving their due. The real ratio of exchange between raw materials and manufactured articles, which has lately shifted so markedly in favour of the latter, is another powerful factor which, added to her difficulties in exporting her produce, is making for the industrialization of Rumania.

As this policy of industrialization, which has been followed [439]
since the conclusion of the war, has not given the expected
results, its continued pursuit and intensification can only be 471
persisted in through State intervention, which is also growingly exerted in organizing the exports. Control of exchanges, the clearing system, quotas, and inter-state barter are all gradual stages leading to the ultimate elimination of individual initiative in commercial intercourse and its substitution by collectivist methods. From this stage to the adoption of integral communism is an easy transition, and in view of the close proximity of the Russian example no surprise should be shown if it be imitated not only by Rumania, but by other Near Eastern States, if no other way of escape out of their present difficulties be offered them. The prospect of these States adopting Bolshevism is quite within the domain of possibilities, and this can hardly constitute a very reassuring portent for our Western democracies.

The visit of Ismet Pasha to Moscow in April, 1932, for the 646
purpose of seeing at close quarters how the Communist

648 administrative machinery worked, should serve as an eye-
opener to the sceptic. Already, early in June, the Constanti-
nople *Journal d'Orient* has announced that Ismet was intent
on applying Russian methods to agriculture in Turkey, and
that his Government had decided to create a textile industry
on the Russian model and with Russian help. Subsequently
the Turkish Press has announced that Russian experts had
arrived to choose sites for the proposed works. For this
439 reason it is to be deeply regretted that at the recent Grain
648 Conferences, held in Paris and Rome, the delegates of the
British Government did not adopt a more sympathetic atti-
tude towards the views set forth not only by Rumania but
also by her neighbouring countries, all of which are faced
with the same difficulties. Their demand for preferential
treatment with regard to their cereals may run counter to
the ' most favoured nation ' clause, yet there are methods by
which such difficulties as may arise from such complications
can eventually be circumvented, and the agreement reached
between Rumania and France on May 26th, 1932, which
grants the former country a total annual quota of 80,000
tons of wheat with a 40 per cent reduction in duties, is a
case in point. This agreement brought into force auto-
matically the long-talked-of preferential treaty with Ger-
many,[1] which gives to Rumania an annual quota of some
200,000 to 250,000 tons of maize and of 400,000 to 500,000
teons of barley, with a 60 per cent reduction for the former
and one of 50 per cent for the latter, and also secures for
Rumania the right to export to Germany 7,000 head of cattle
000 and 70,000 pigs per annum. Of course Rumania has had to
grant corresponding advantages to Germany for certain of
her industrial products, so that, taking into account that
Great Britain is the largest grain-importing country, import-
ing on an average three or four times as much as Germany,
it would seem that it would be to our advantage and within
our means to conclude similar arrangements. In 1931 we
imported a total of 222 million bushels, of which 50 millions
came from Canada, 39 from the Argentine, and 21 from the

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[1] In [illegible]ugust, 1932, a trade agreement between Italy and Rumania was signed, both countries making mutual concessions in their tariffs.

United States. At first sight it would appear that ample OOO scope exists for the provision of a market for the cereals of the Danubian countries, provided that the latter would agree to grant corresponding facilities to our manufacturers. If our delegates at the grain conferences, instead of turning down all proposals on this head emanating from these countries, had demanded a *quid pro quo*, they would have done better work. Such an arrangement would seem more advantageous to us than the policy of subsidizing wheat growing in our country since, to quote the Rt. Hon. Viscount Astor, "the world price of wheat for 1930 was 25s. per quarter, but the average cost of producing it in England was stated by many farmers to be 45s. to 55s. . . . the subsidy on wheat will cost from £3 to 5 millions . . . it would be cheaper for us to have this land derelict and to give every landlord £1 per acre, every farmer £2 per acre, and every labourer £2 per week to sit at home and smoke his pipe in idleness than to pay the quota scheme at recent prices. . . ." (*v. Nineteenth Century and After*, March, 1932.) On the whole it would certainly be more profitable if our dairy and cattle-rearing industry received cheap grain from the Danubian countries, the acquisition of which would offer our manufacturers the possibility of placing in those countries an increasing share of their manufactured products, rather than to proceed with the economically unsound policy of subsidizing grain growing in this country, and thereby intensifying the existing glut of agricultural produce in the world markets.

At any rate, if we abstain from assisting the Danubian 439 countries, the force of circumstances will compel them either to seek the realization of the Mittel Europa scheme, or to adopt a distinctly Bolshevik economic policy, and it must be admitted that neither of these contingencies would be to our advantage. Besides the agreements with France and Germany, Rumania concluded in May, 1932, a temporary arrangement with Argentina concerning the export of maize, both countries agreeing to prohibit their exports if prices fell below an agreed figure, which for Argentina was fixed at 5 pesos per quintal, and for Rumania at 33 French francs per quintal. As these countries export respectively eight

439 million and two million tons, or 75 per cent and 20 per cent of the total quantity of maize exported (for the world), it seems that there is a possibility for them to stabilize effectively its price at a reasonable figure.

Rumania still remains an essentially agricultural country in spite of the development of her petroleum industry, and as such she will continue to import from abroad the essential semi-manufactured goods for her artificially-created industry, subsisting solely by Protection, and in addition a limited quantity of better quality articles which cannot be manufactured locally, as well as machinery necessary for the equipment of her industries. Germany continues to be (as during the pre-war period) the country to which Rumania sells and from which she buys most; Czechoslovakia, Austria, and Italy being the next best purveyors as well as customers. Rumania therefore continues to be in close commercial relations with the countries of Central Europe, owing to her geographical propinquity to these States, and the facilities afforded for traffic by the Danube waterway and the main railway lines which connect Central Europe with Rumania.

The following table shows the relative importance of foreign countries in Rumania's export and import trade for 1930:

TRADE

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EXPORTS TO :—

Country	Tons.	Value in 1,000 Lei.	Percentage of total.
England	995,362	3,230,452	11.33
Austria	425,175	2,588,535	9.07
Czechoslovakia	308,552	1,985,011	6.96
Germany	1,438,698	5,363,396	18.80
Hungary	1,187,651	2,127,371	7.46
Italy	1,260,742	3,674,836	12.88
Poland	95,499	452,250	1.58
France	607,302	1,958,980	——
Greece	218,049	696,169	——
Yugoslavia	242,750	509,558	1.79
Bulgaria	142,554	363,246	——
Holland	453,576	1,356,742	——
Egypt	544,911	1,194,361	——
Belgium	284,881	905,519	——

IMPORTS FROM :—

Country	Tons.	Value in 1,000 Lei.	Percentage of total.
England	54,303	1,873,712	8.13
Austria	41,412	2,678,949	11.63
Czechoslovakia ...	138,236	3,370,354	14.63
Germany	135,911	5,776,751	25.07
Hungary	60,817	908,111	3.94
Italy	38,367	1,825,419	7.92
Poland	134,675	983,301	4.27
France	——	——	——
Greece	——	——	——
Yugoslavia	23,532	79,600	0.34
Bulgaria	——	——	——
Holland	——	——	——
Egypt	——	——	——
Belgium	——	——	——

An examination of the above figures will readily convince 439
the reader that Rumania, which exports 90 per cent of its 648
cereals and 75 per cent of its oil, outside the Danubian countries, can find little inducement to participate in such a scheme as that of the Danubian economic federation proposed by France. Even members of the Government paid lip-service to M. Tardieu's plan, and if there was no outspoken criticism of it this was due mainly to the desire to avoid hurting French susceptibilities. The promised financial

aid was the only attractive feature of the scheme, and if this plan materializes it may be taken for granted that the pecuniary assistance implied is the reason for its acceptance, and even then it is clearly indicated that such co-operation between the Danubian countries is to serve only as a prelude to a vaster project, namely that of a European Customs Union. A few figures will, however, show that this plan is not practicable. Thus Austria in 1930 imported 765,600 tons and Czechoslovakia 592,600 tons of cereals, while Hungary, Rumania, and Yugoslavia annually disposed of 3,350,000 tons on an average during the years 1928–1930, or about two million tons more than the two industrial countries of the Danube basin could absorb, for the quantity of cereals these two countries buy from other than the Danubian States is infinitesimal. They likewise import 90 per cent of the meat they require from Hungary, Poland, and Rumania, so that the available margin for an increase on this item is also very limited. Concerning petroleum, Rumania exported in 1930 a total of 3,850,000 tons, of which only 1,150,000 tons were absorbed by Czechoslovakia, Austria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, so that she had to dispose of the rest elsewhere. Apparently there is no inducement whatever for Rumania to join this proposed Danubian Union, and it is only the bait of financial aid and the desire not to ruffle France that will induce her to adopt a benevolent attitude towards it. In fact Rumania will be adversely affected, for she can only increase her sales to the other Danubian countries to a very limited extent, while she will be obliged to extend a preferential tariff to Austrian and Czechoslovakian manufactured goods which, on the one hand, will injure her own industry, and on the other, will affect adversely the import of manufactured goods of other countries, since they will have to pay higher duties than those on the corresponding Austrian and Czechoslovakian articles. It is certain, now that the preferential treaty with Germany has come into force, that the latter country will not regard with equanimity the realization of a Danubian Customs Union, which is likely to debar her from the advantages her trade arrangement with Rumania actually confers on her. All these considerations go to show that when the British Government proceeded to give its blessing ooo to the Tardieu plan it had not considered it even worth while to consult the interests of British exporters to the Danubian countries, who had so far no reason to congratulate themselves on its activities. Thus a few years ago it readily gave its consent to the proposed increase in the Bulgarian tariff in order (as was alleged) that the stabilization loan floated under the aegis of the League of Nations might have additional revenues allocated to it. The result was an immediate increase in the number of weaving sheds in Bulgaria, followed by the shutting out of British textiles, which brought about in that country an alarming drop in the revenue from Customs. A yet more recent instance of the slackness of our politicians was afforded when in Sept., 1931, we went off the gold standard. Our Government might have thought of restricting the losses this decision had brought on our exporters by decreeing that debts already contracted would be payable on the gold basis. Such a decree would have been strictly in conformity with the usage of the French Government, which has always managed to extort from its debitors payment in gold francs, though at the same time when the rôle is reversed and France is a debtor, it does not scruple at paying its creditors in paper francs.* No wonder that most of our trade-pioneers abroad, heartily sick of being treated

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* We may crave the indulgence of our readers for engaging in a short digression from our main subject in order to remind them of the controversy raised over the French War Loans floated in this country. Not for the purpose of airing a personal grievance against the French, because of the huge losses inflicted on British investors, among the vast number of whom was the writer, but rather with the object of giving an illustration of the extremes to which other governments are prepared to go when it is a question of protecting the interests of their nationals, while our own politicians, in similar cases, offer a spectacle of asinine imperturbability.

During the war the French Government issued war bonds to the value of some fifty million sterling in England, and though the scrip was denominated in francs, yet the subscriptions received were all in sterling. British subscribers naturally expected to be reimbursed in the same currency. Owing to the fall in the franc, however, and its stabilisation at one-fifth of its original value, the French Government proceeded to pay the interest on these bonds in paper francs, in consequence of which their value was seriously impaired. To the protests of the British holders, the French replied that the loan floated in Great Britain formed only part of the war loan issued in France, and that, as all of it was denominated in francs, its service would be necessarily in the same currency, and that no preferential treatment could be accorded to the holders of the British section of the loan.

000 as pariahs, and conscious that they can never count on support from their Government, have had to give up the game in disgust, and the present decay of our export trades may to a large extent be attributed to this supineness on the part of those in authority at home.

This was a plausible statement. But subsequently the French provided us with excellent reasons for its refutation. Thus they proceeded to sue, at the International Court at the Hague, Serbia, Brazil, and Portugal, because these states undertook to refund the loans contracted in France on the basis of the current value of the franc, while the French insisted on being reimbursed in gold francs, and, strange to say, they secured a favourable verdict. It is obvious that the very same arguments invoked by the French at the Hague would have served to substantiate our claim against them, and for this very reason, when finally our Government, under pressure from the British bondholders, suggested to the French Government that the case ought to go to arbitration, it met with a refusal, which in itself was a masterpiece of jesuitical casuistry and sophistry, intended to mask the plain fact that the French had rejected arbitration. We meekly accepted the French reply. Possibly higher interests dictated such humility at the time. But what are we to say of the British Government when it proceeded to settle the French claims for the transport of British troops in France during the war, at the rate of twenty-seven francs to the pound sterling, instead of at ninety-two, the rate ruling at the time this claim was settled? Clearly this was a liability in francs, and should have been settled in francs, and if the British Government had possessed any sense of dignity it ought flatly to have refused to comply with the French demand, or, if it had complied, it ought to have insisted that the advantage of £8,250,000 which accrued to the French Government, by our Government paying at the rate of twenty-seven instead of ninety-two to the pound, should have been repaid by the former to British holders of French war loans in partial compensation for the losses sustained by them.

Nor is this to be regarded as a mere solitary instance of the supine absentmindedness our politicians have displayed when the interests of their fellow-subjects were at stake. Thus when the war broke out, our Government seized the Turkish warships being built in England, the cost of which the Turks had already defrayed. This act incensed the Turks against us and they vented their rage on the British colony in Constantinople and Smyrna by requisitioning the stores of British subjects. Our unfortunate nationals expected that the British Government would use the money paid by the Turks for their warships which it had seized, to compensate them for their losses. But instead, Lord Curzon, that very "superior person," in a moment of seigniorial magnanimity decreed that this sum should also serve to indemnify French and Italian sufferers, with the result that there was not sufficient money to go round, and that most of the British claimants received next to nothing. Had this been known in time, British subjects in possession of Turkish requisition receipts would have secured more adequate compensation by dealing directly with the Turkish Government instead of complying with the injunctions issued by our own Consular authorities to file their claims with the latter. It required twelve years for the members of the "Commission for the Assessment of Damages suffered in Turkey" to examine and settle these claims. The writer, who was among this last category of claimants possessing these requisition receipts, attempted to bring his case before a higher court, but was officially notified that the findings of the "Commission" were final, and that no further action could be taken . . .

AGRICULTURE

As a result of the legislative measures enacted in 1917 and 423
1921 Rumania, which was a country of vast latifundia, was transformed into one of smallholdings. Fear, rather than generosity or a desire to promote the country's welfare, prompted the initiation of these enactments. The Russian example which was nigh would have proved contagious had a policy of repression been adopted similar to that of 1907, when over 11,000 Rumanian peasants were ruthlessly massacred in their vain attempt to secure more humane treatment at the hands of their landlords. The landed classes had therefore to yield much in order to retain at least a little. Besides, the initiative had already been taken by Bessarabia, prior to her final declaration of union with Rumania in 1918, of enacting the expropriation of the large estates, and Rumania was confronted with the dilemma of following suit or of seeing Bessarabia demand the annulment of the act of union just passed, for it was impossible for the latter to rescind this measure.

That no high motives were behind this policy of expropriation may be inferred from the perfunctory manner in which it was applied, and the absence of a rational plan for putting it into operation. In fact, one of the reasons for the sudden dismissal of the first Vaida-Voevod administration in 1920 was apprehension lest Mihalache, the then Minister of Agriculture, would have seen to the thorough and rational execution of the expropriation decrees. It could have been easily foreseen that the peasantry, who until then had been in a state akin to serfdom, were destitute and had not the capital wherewith to exploit the lands that were being allotted them. It was the imperative duty of the State to find the means necessary to endow the peasantry with the indispensable agricultural equipment for the cultivation of their lands. The Governments presided over by the Bratianus, however, were busy reserving the exploitation of the natural resources of the country for their partisans, and the peasants were left to fend for themselves as best they could. The Bratianus 661
would suffer no harm from the fact that the State was 423

neglecting the peasants; on the contrary, they saw in them a 661 numerous and profitable crowd of clients for the banks, the 423 majority of which were under their control. The less pecuniary aid the peasant obtained from the State, the greater would be his need of the private bank or usurer. And so well did the latter entangle the peasants in their tentacles that within ten years of the enactment of the Land Distribution Act the debts contracted by the peasants had surpassed the value of their lands. Thus the much-belauded agrarian revolution in Rumania was threatened with complete failure, and so another revolutionary measure had to be passed, the strangely-termed "law for the sanitation of agrarian debts," in order to save the peasantry from being dispossessed of their land.

311 241 434 The *Argus* of 13th February, 1932, published the following table which shows how the land was actually distributed:

Area of properties.	Total hectares.	Percentage of area.	Number of proprietors.	Percentage of total. Owners.	Average area of farm for each category.
Up to 5 hectares ...	6,280,993	43.60	3,731,403	84.20	1.94
5 to 10 hectares ...	2,919,863	20.20	435,715	11,30	6.70
10 to 50 hectares ...	2,392,689	16.60	148.860	3.90	16.07
50 to 250 hectares ...	1,505,257	10.40	18,122	0.50	83.06
Over 250 hectares ...	1,305,670	9.10	2,597	0.10	502.00
Total ...	14,404,462,	100.00	3,836,757	100.00	3.75

As one hectare sown to wheat yields approximately 1,200 kg. of wheat, and the average price of wheat during 1931 was about 2.25 lei, the revenue per hectare may be reckoned at about 2,700 lei. As the average holding of 84 per cent of the peasantry is about 2 hectares, the paper assumed that the revenue of each peasant household amounted approximately to some 5,400 lei, or about 160 gold francs. For the 241 year 1931 the total revenue from agriculture was computed 434 at 46,500 million lei, of which 21 milliards were derived from the cattle-rearing industry, 21 milliards from cereals, and 4½ milliards from other plants. Other crops were even less profitable; thus the average price of maize was 1.50 lei per kg. and the yield 1,500 kg. per hectare, so that the revenue per hectare amounted to 2,250 lei, and the figures for barley were respectively 2 lei, 1,400 kg., and 2,800 lei.

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AGRICULTURE

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It was the policy of imposing export taxes on all agricultural produce, which despoiled the peasantry of all the legitimate profit they should have made on the marketing of their grain, and which not only tended to discourage them from increasing the area under cultivation but prevented them from consolidating their position as independent farmers. Indeed, had not the Rumanian peasant been unduly burdened with taxes during the years following the conclusion of the war, when cereals fetched highly remunerative prices, he would undoubtedly have been able to make sufficient money to equip himself with the necessary instruments and cattle for his farm, avoided running into debt, and he would even have been able to constitute a small reserve on which to draw in the lean years. But these possibilities were frustrated by the culpable negligence of his rulers. And yet there were plenty of men who clearly foresaw and foretold the disastrous outcome for agriculture of such negligence, and protested against this system as well as against the undue partiality accorded by Government circles to industry in general. Certain organs of the Press continued for years to warn the public, and to deprecate the disastrous policy that was being followed. But it was in vain, the Bratianus would accept no counsel from anyone. The *Argus* on October 21st, 1926, commenting on this theme, drew the following conclusions:

"From the above-cited appreciations one may infer that on one hand the prices obtained by the producers are below those they secured before the war, while on the other hand the prices of the articles they need for their upkeep are at about 70 per cent above the pre-war level. In spite of these facts all these taxes which burden production are being maintained, and agriculture is placed not only in an impossible situation for developing itself but in a state of inferiority when compared with that of other countries which export cereals."

In another article published by the same paper on October 10th, 1926, we find a similar pessimistic strain: "From the above figures it becomes obvious that agriculturalists instead of making a profit have lost money, both this year and in previous years of drought. Such a result has completely discouraged them, especially the younger among them..!"

000 previous years of drought. Such a result has completely discouraged them, especially the younger among them. . . ."

499 241 And it was not only the export taxes which impeded the development of agriculture, but also the deplorable state of the whole transport system. The shortage and deficiencies of the latter would have been very easily remedied with foreign aid, but the Bratianus were deaf to all such suggestions, though the imperative necessity of eliminating these defects was daily insisted on in the Press. Here is yet another excerpt from the *Argus* of October 8th, 1926, and it will be found both apposite and illuminating on this subject:

"So long as the Railway Administration does not dispose of adequate funds to obtain the necessary rolling stock, nothing can be done. Without locomotives, without trucks, without warehouses, a transport system is helpless in a country like ours, which cannot develop without exports. In order to stimulate and encourage the production of our soil, the subject of the re-establishment of our means of communication by land and water ought to be constantly in the minds of our governing circles. We have paid no heed to this truth during the eight years following the war, and as a result, if we except Russia, our country is the hindermost in Eastern Europe as far as transport is concerned. For this reason, in almost all railway stations quantities of grain remain for months waiting for trucks, to the immense prejudice of the producers and the merchants. The capital which is thus immobilized for so long a time, when interest rates are soaring fantastically, the warehouse dues, the loss in quantity and quality of the cereals through exposure and theft, are some of the factors which are contributing to the ruin of our agriculture and of our commerce in cereals. . . ."

651 241 To these complaints and remonstrances, however, the Government turned a deaf ear, and it even went farther and threatened to impose still heavier burdens on this harassed industry by an increase in the land tax. The injustice of this contemplated measure was exposed at length by Dr Ernest Ene in the *Argus*, who marshalled figures and facts to prove that, in comparison with other industries, agriculture had so far been treated as a Cinderella, although it had furnished

to the State a very notable portion of its revenues. According to the figures cited, the total value of the products of industry during 1924 was about 20,000,000,000 lei, while the taxes derived from industry amounted to 488,858,000 lei only. But even this yield was only apparent, for the preferential rates granted for the transport of local industrial products and other subsidies more than absorbed this sum. Agriculture, on the other hand, with an output amounting to 60,000 million lei, contributed revenue to the extent of 7,000 million lei to the State, of which more than 761 millions was in the form of the land tax. Another writer in the *Argus* of November 26th, 1926, is equally indignant at this threatened increase in the land tax, and finds that the 8,000 million lei which the peasantry contributed indirectly to the State revenue, mainly through the export taxes, is already a disproportionate burden. In fact by 1929 agriculture, including cattle rearing, was reckoned to contribute 122 milliard lei to the national revenue, which was calculated to amount to a total of 175 milliards. The remissness the Government displayed towards the agricultural population was bound to have yet further regrettable results, namely, the decrease in the quantity and quality of the yield of cereals. Devoid of means, the small farmers (whose average holdings amounted to less than 5 hectares and represented 60 per cent of the cultivated area and 90 per cent of the rural population) were unable to buy decent seed grain, so that the quality of the cereals grown deteriorated and the yield per hectare steadily decreased. This fact was persistently pointed out by intelligent agriculturalists in the Press. Commenting on the increasing deterioration of the maize crop, a writer in the *Argus* of November 10th, 1926, stated: "The average yield of maize per hectare for the last five years has sunk to 10 hectoliters, while in the United States it is 22.7 and individual farmers who apply more rational methods obtain more than 40 hectoliters. . . . It should be noted that both the climate and the soil of the U.S. are far inferior to ours. . . ." Yet another agricultural engineer, in a series of articles published in the *Argus* in November, 1926, asserted that if good seed corn were distributed to the peasantry there would be an immense increase in the yield

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241 of at least 30 per cent in three years, which would represent an increment of 20,000 million lei to the national income, and the writer proceeded to show how erroneous it was to continue following a policy of encouraging industry, since the latter could never yield similar results in so short a time no matter what amount of capital was invested in it. He further enlarged on the necessity of creating a system of credit institutions which would offer loans to the peasantry, for the latter had been completely abandoned to themselves, and he stigmatized the attitude of the Government in this respect as "a policy of complete economic aberration."

241 423 There are many who attribute the decadence of agriculture in Rumania to the Agrarian Reform, but this is an altogether gratuitous conclusion, though in a particular sense their assertion is correct. One may, for instance, take it for granted that had the large landowners subsisted, owing to their political influence they would never have allowed the Bratianu Governments to institute such legislation as rendered the marketing of agricultural produce impossible on a remunerative basis. Indeed the cultivation of the soil had ceased to be a profitable one even as early as 1924, and large farmers employing paid labour could not make enough out of their produce to cover their outlay plus the normal rent of their farms. This was exposed at length in the *Argus* of July 29th, 1926, and the paper attributed to this cause the decrease in the area sown with wheat in Moldavia and Bessarabia, where the best corn lands in Rumania are to be found. One could further infer from the arguments invoked that it was only the smallholder who could persevere in such a disadvantageous occupation as agriculture, because he neither stinted his efforts nor valued at its true worth the amount of labour he expended on his own land, such being the traditional attitude of the peasant. M. Dobrogeanu-Gherea, in his informative book "Neoiobâgia," relates how the peasantry persisted in cultivating their land in the neighbourhood of Ploeşti after 1907, when owing to the development of the oil industry the price of land had increased to such an extent as to render agriculture an uneconomical occupation. Thus, while a pogon[1] of land was let at 50 lei,

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[1] One pogon is equivalent to 5,012 sq. metres.

the price of the quantity of maize grown on it would fetch 241
only 40 lei; nevertheless the peasant owner persisted in culti- 423
vating his patch of land because he felt ashamed to allow it to lie fallow, having always been accustomed to cultivate it, and buy the maize he needed instead, for which, however, he would probably have to pay a somewhat higher price than the 40 lei at which he could have sold his own (p. 111). So that, far from exerting an adverse influence on production, the breaking up of the large estates has, on the contrary, proved to be the salvation of the industry, for were it not for the abnegation and attachment of the individual smallholder to his farm, agriculture would have been completely ruined by the policy imposed by the Bratianus. Indeed, one cannot but admire this profound devotion of the peasant to the land and his dogged persistence in carrying on, despite the odds which confronted him and the utter lack of encouragement he met with from the State. We may take it for granted that the small farm of five hectares was more productive than the large estates, even from official statistics.
This peculiarity was commented on in the *Cuvantul* of July [65]
23rd, 1927, which at the same time decried the maladministration of the then Finance Minister, M. Vintila Bratianu, and his threat to increase the land tax. That paper contested the official statement that the land tax in Rumania amounted to one gold franc per hectare, as this affirmation would cast a slur on the country. In fact it was estimated that in 1924 the export taxes on cereals had yielded the equivalent of a tax of 8 gold francs per hectare.

The determined perseverance of the peasantry could not undo the harm caused by the erroneous agrarian policy pursued, and the situation could not but grow worse with time.

So that when finally the National Peasant Party assumed 241
power at the end of 1928, the situation had become so hope- 423
less that the Rumanian Government even contemplated 571
organizing a mass emigration to France and her colonies in 167
order to relieve the strain. Early in 1929 the Press, commenting on this unexpected decision of the Government to encourage emigration, admitted that the cause of the disastrous condition agriculture had reached in Rumania could

241 be clearly traced to the carelessness with which the law of
423 land distribution had been drafted, and to the utter neglect
[511] to provide financial means for its rational application, as well
167 as to the export taxes on agricultural produce. The outcome
was appalling, as may be judged from an article in the *Cuvantul* in which, after dilating on the causes that had brought about this disaster, it was asserted: "We are obliged to admit that the entire rural population had reached a state of pauperism at a time when we should reasonably have expected it to be thriving, since it had been endowed with lands. It seems a paradox, yet we have only wrecked the old system of production, founded on the unjust system of latifundia, in order to replace serfdom by pauperism. At the time of the large estates the rural worker had no need to emigrate; on the contrary, there was a shortage of labour, and foreign labourers had to be admitted from neighbouring countries. To-day, however, we are forced to direct the rural population abroad so as to save it from starvation; that is the situation we have reached ten years after the enactment of the expropriation laws. . . ." According to the *Adeverul* of March 29th, 1929, the Minister for Agriculture, speaking about the state of that industry, drew a very dark picture and lamented the wretched condition to which agricultural production had fallen. Rumanian agriculture, once the source of wealth and the economic basis of the State, was, he said, on the verge of ruin. The Minister not only condemned the culpable manner in which the land distribution law had been carried out, but also denounced the laxity and incapacity of the functionaries who had been appointed to show the peasants new methods of cultivation. According to him, the so-called model school farms were a positive dis-
241 grace. . . . Apparently matters have not improved since, for
as late as March, 1932, one could read in the *Ellenzek*, a
874 paper published in Hungarian at Cluj, that the Hungarian
Cultural Association of Transylvania had decided to present a petition to the League of Nations to demand the creation of an agricultural school destined exclusively for sons of Rumanian citizens of Hungarian nationality. One ought not to feel surprise that the Hungarian minority, convinced of the glaring ineptitude of the Rumanian administration, had

at last been compelled to assume at its own expense the professional training of its youth. 241/874

It is sad to record that even in educational institutions the remissness which has characterized Rumanian administration has not been adequately grappled with, and it is not surprising that the laxity manifested in this particular domain should appear especially odious to the national minorities in Rumania, which have a different moral conception of life than that of the predominating nationality. That there is much to be done in this department is obvious to all, owing to the persistence of the complaints. A storm of indignation was raised by the scandalous condition of the College of Salonta, in Transylvania, in which some 400 Hungarian and Rumanian students were being educated. Of this number of students, 50 per cent were incapacitated, owing to the disgusting lack of hygiene prevailing, and the anarchic system on which it was conducted. The parents of the students had to petition the Minister of Education to obtain amelioration of the methods in vogue, and the details exposed were so revolting that the *Cuvantul* of March 28th, 1929, commenting on them, more or less admitted that such facts justified the opprobrious epithet of " putrid Wallachs " conferred on the latter by the Hungarians. 658 871

From this it may be deduced that agriculture had already been ruined through the culpable remissness of Rumania's rulers before the present crisis made itself felt. The country was caught like some disabled ship by the economic hurricane which suddenly sprang up, and materially it is suffering intensely, because in its battered condition it finds it difficult to weather the storm. Fortunately, the peasantry has been used to a life of suffering and hard toil; the peasants are patient and long-suffering to an extent inconceivable in the West. Docile and good-humoured, they put up with a situation that a Westerner would long since have found intolerable and against which he would have revolted. Poverty-stricken and unguided, the peasant has not only been left to provide the means wherewith to develop his farm, but at the same time he has been forced to supply from his own scanty resources the needs of the urban populations and the bulk of the funds requisite for carrying on the administration 241/565

241/565 of the State. It is this utter lack of consideration for this hard-pressed mass of humanity that raises the indignation of the foreign observer against those who, through the cruel irony of fate, have been called upon to look after the destinies of this luckless people. The selfishness, incapacity, and corruption of which they have given proof can only be compared to that moral disintegration existing under the Tsarist régime, and one should not feel surprise if finally the same developments supervene. The rural population is absolutely sick of the present system and has lost all faith in its politicians.

[668] An important meeting was held early in 1932 at Focşani by fruit-growers and viticulturists, who may be considered to represent the more intelligent classes of the rural population, and the prevalent opinion expressed by the delegates was to the effect that no alleviation could be expected so long as the present system was maintained, and that Bolshevism held out better prospects. This did not cause any alarm, and passed almost unheeded, save for some mild criticism from one of the veterans of journalism in Rumania, M. Batsaria, who, in an article which appeared in the *Adeverul* on January 20th, 1932, admitted that this attitude was significant, yet opined that it was not aimed against the Crown, which at the time was being very roughly handled by General Averescu in the Press campaign the latter had just launched.

241/433 In spite of the culpable neglect with which agriculture has always been treated, the industry remains Rumania's mainstay and sole hope of survival. The whole social life of the country, even its future existence, depends on the normal development of agriculture, which provides not only the food, but also the raw materials for the more promising sections of the country's budding industries, and the means wherewith Rumania can pay for the indispensable articles she imports from abroad, as well as for the payment of interest on her public debt. It is a matter of grave concern, therefore, that the average yield of cereals per hectare should have steadily diminished in the last nine years and sunk below the pre-war average of 1,130 kg. per hectare. If nothing be done to remedy this evil Rumania,

owing to the natural increase of her population, will in a 241
couple of years have no more wheat available for export, [423]
and in ten or twelve years it will be the same with maize. It is imperative, therefore, for the Government to take without delay the steps necessary to increase the yield. This can only be done if the State will undertake to provide selected seed corn, to establish rural banks to enable the peasantry to obtain advances of funds at cheap rates in order to buy machinery and implements, and to create model farms in which more modern methods of cultivation might be demonstrated practically. If grain elevators were also constructed in important agricultural centres, and adequate storage accommodation made available, it would be easy to advance money to farmers on the security of the cereals they could
store as a pledge. And if Rumania decided to return to 241
methods of legality and offer safeguards to foreign capital 454
there would be no difficulty whatever in obtaining all the capital she requires for financing such operations, as they would then prove perfectly sound. It is this utter lack of capital which has handicapped the development of agriculture since the war, for the smallholder had to pay usurious rates of interest (40 to 60 per cent being current), while prior to the war large owners could obtain advances from the
banks on very reasonable terms. It would be altogether 423
unjustifiable, therefore, to assert, as some people allege, 241
that the breaking up of the large estates had led to the 454
decline of agriculture. On the contrary, it is this measure which has permitted agriculture to survive, for owing to the systematic diversion of capital from agriculture to industry, the owners of the large estates would have found themselves in a worse fix than the smallholders if they had continued to exist and therefore required advances for the maintenance of their estates, as was formerly their wont. Without liquid assets they would have found themselves utterly unable to carry on the cultivation of those large estates, while the
smallholder, by dint of hard work and privation, has man- 241
aged to keep his patch of land under the plough. Some 423
persons may retort that, if the breaking up of the large 420
estates had proved to be a practical operation, the rural population would not have run into debt to the extent of

241 423 426 some 80 milliard lei, and obliged the Government to pass the law decreeing the conversion of agrarian debts, in order to save the peasantry from the predicament of being dispossessed of their land by their creditors. The large owners, however, were in as bad a plight and perhaps worse off, for when the legislation concerning the cancellation of agrarian debts was under discussion in the Chamber, the director of the *Argus* suggested that Ministers and deputies should be excluded from being among the beneficiaries of the proposed law, so that they should not be accused later of having passed such a revolutionary measure mainly for self-interested motives. His suggestion was not supported, a fact which would tend to prove that large owners were perhaps more insistent on the adoption of this measure than smallholders, to many of whom it has proved highly prejudicial.

That the agrarian revolution did not solely profit the peasantry, and that others took advantage of it to appropriate lands to which they had no right, and that the latter were more insistent on the voting of the law for the conversion of agrarian debts, is an undisputed fact. This is proved also by an interview published by the *Adeverul* on September 9th, 1930, in which Prof. Iorga was reported to have said: "When the expropriation of the large estates was carried out many mistakes and injustices were committed. Real cultivators were not endowed with land in order that in their place land should be bestowed on various political partisans, electoral agents, and others who had nothing in common with the land or agriculture. Having thus secured the land, they set about to increase their holdings by buying up with borrowed money adjoining tracks, and started exploiting them on American methods. But their calculations were erroneous, because with us agriculture is not profitable except for the owner who himself cultivates his land. This category of landowners should not be assimilated with the peasantry, and the State should not assume charge of their debts." This wise recommendation, however, was not followed, and large owners were permitted to a certain extent to take advantage of the law of conversion of agrarian debts.

241 426 453 That it was absolutely indispensable to extend some help to the peasantry no one will dispute, but this law of con-

version of agrarian debts will probably do more harm than 241 good in the long run, not only because it has undermined 426 confidence and ruined the banks, but also on account of the 453 adverse effects it will have on agriculture itself, for it brings no relief to the peasant in the way of obtaining the credit facilities he needs, but on the contrary it renders borrowing now almost impossible. Prior to the promulgation of this law both banking institutions and private persons who had lent money to peasants were ready to help them, if by so doing they could recover part of their debts; there was a certain sense of solidarity between creditor and debtor; now, however, that the law has arbitrarily stepped in between them and settled their relations, practically ruining the creditors, the latter have no longer the means nor any interest to assist their debtors. Another disastrous outcome of the law is the loss of all the savings which the more industrious among the peasantry may have had, and which naturally were placed in the keeping of the rural banks now rendered insolvent. It is calculated that these sums amount to some 6 milliard lei. This law, therefore, instead of encouraging the more progressive peasants, has ruined them and reduced them to the level of the more indolent. Another drawback in this law is that it subjects all land, the owners of which take advantage of its clauses, to a certain legal servitude for 30 years, precluding the owners from mortgaging it and contracting loans, although the securing of fresh credit constitutes their most pressing need. It may be taken for granted that, in consequence of this law, the area sown will be considerably less in extent this year, owing to the impossibility for the peasants to obtain timely advances for cultivating their fields, and also to the discouragement of the most enterprising among them, who lost their capital through the failure of the banks.

This law, if not repealed, will be yet another obstacle to the creation of a rural mortgage bank, of which the country is in such dire need, for peasants taking advantage of the conversion law cannot mortgage their holdings. The necessary preliminary for the normal working of such an institution would be the creation of cadastral registration, which is non-existent in the country. If the Rumanian Government

241 really intended to revert to a régime of legality and to the
426 granting of adequate security to foreign capital, there would
453 be hardly any difficulties in its obtaining the necessary aid
from abroad in order to permit the establishment of such an institution, and in order to save time it would be politic on its part if without further delay it took the requisite steps to prepare a cadastral register or ground-book. Such measures of self-aid would prove more efficacious than the solicitation at international conferences of preferential rates for Rumanian agricultural produce. For they would help to convince foreign investors that Rumania had at last decided to put her house in order, a decision which, if seriously taken, would probably cause foreign capital to come to her aid and bring to her corresponding or equal advantages to those she would derive from the obtaining of the preferential rates for which she is now craving as a favour from industrial States. There are no insuperable obstacles to the salving of Rumanian agriculture. All that is needed is cheap credit and the lowering of the cost of industrial products used by
241 the peasantry. These *desiderata* may be secured whenever
461 the Government decides to change its methods and adopt as its guiding principles honesty, retrenchment, and auster-
6 ity. After all, the peasants have done more than their share, and no greater effort can be demanded of them. One who has witnessed the long heartbreak of endless and often unrequited labour that has been their lot, and the fortitude with which they have faced the apathy the State has so far shown towards them, can have no doubts as to the response a little encouragement would evoke from them. Without decent seed grain, and with the most primitive implements, it was but natural that the yield per hectare should decrease. Nevertheless, the steady although small increase of the area under cultivation is a convincing proof that the peasants have never stinted their labour and that they are determined to persist to the extreme limits of human endurance in their efforts to wrest a bare subsistence from the soil. The following table will be found to confirm fully what has been stated
241 above, namely, that while the area cultivated has been
433 maintained, the yield per hectare is on the whole diminishing:

	Average for 5 years 1922—1926		1927		1928		1929		1930		1931	
	Area sown in 1,000 hectares.	Output in 1,000 quintals.	Area sown in 1,000 hectares.	Output in 1,000 quintals.	Area sown in 1,000 hectares.	Output in 1,000 quintals.	Area sown in 1,000 hectares.	Output in 1,000 quintals.	Area sown in 1,000 hectares.	Output in 1,000 quintals.	Area sown in 1,000 hectares.	Output in 1,000 quintals.
Wheat	2,806	24,250	3,118	26,320	2,814	31,440	2,664	28,000	3,055	36,000	3,466	36,800
Rye	287	2,280	277	2,470	319	2,910	310	3,400	391	4,600	407	3,600
Oats	1,197	9,530	1,185	8,420	1,304	9,800	1,200	13,600	1,087	11,600	871	6,700
Barley	1,668	13,180	1,749	13,310	2,190	15,110	2,000	30,400	1,975	23,700	1,919	14,100
Maize	3,593	40,790	3,847	35,330	4,626	27,530	4,790	60,800	4,426	45,200	4,754	63,600
Total	9,551	90,003	10,176	85,850	11,253	86,790	10,944	136,200	10,934	121,100	11,417	124,800

AVERAGE CROP YIELDS IN QUINTALS PER HECTARE

		Average for 1911/15	Average for 1921/26	Average for 1926/30	1929	1930	1931
Wheat	...	11.9	8.7	9.8	9.9	11.6	10.6
Rye	...	9.0	7.9	10.1	10.8	11.9	8.7
Oats	...	9.2	7 7	10.1	11.2	10.6	7.7
Barley	...	10.5	7.6	10.4	13.3	12.0	7.4
Maize	...	13.6	10.7	10.6	13.3	10.2	13.7

The above figures show that there is a vast scope for an improvement, for in Central European countries the average yield of wheat per hectare is about 20 quintals and in Denmark and Great Britain higher yields are common with a much poorer soil than that of Rumania.

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RUMANIA

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311 The following table indicates the proportions of lands devoted to the various cultures and the distribution among the different provinces, according to official statistics for the year 1930:

Arable land in:	Area in hectares.	Percentage of total.
Old Kingdom	6,515,995	22.09
Bessarabia	2,915,941	9.88
Bucovina	311,616	1.06
Transylvania	3,113,500	10.55
Total of arable lands	12,857,112	43.58
Meadows and pastures	4,054,475	13.75
Orchards and Vineyards	613,614	2.08
Forests	7,134,200	24.18
Unproductive lands, roads, sites of buildings, rivers, mines, etc.	4,837,399	16.41
Total Area	29,496,700	100.00

From the above it will be seen that there is little scope for bringing more land under cultivation, and that an expansion in the output must be sought by improving the method of cultivation. Of course there is a vast expanse of marshes along the Danube which may be reclaimed—the total area of these is computed at two million hectares—and if they were turned to account they would considerably augment the arable area. It may be added that similar works of reclamation have been undertaken in Bulgaria and Greece and have been reported to be remunerative.

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249 Besides cereals, industrial plants such as hemp, colza, sun-flower, tobacco, sugar-beet are grown, some 399,506 hectares being sown with them. The sugar-beet industry is sufficiently developed to provide for the total requirements of the country and to allow even for an export surplus. There are 14 sugar refineries, with invested capital of 3,300 million lei and occupying some 15,000 workmen. It was reported in the *Argus* of February 20th, 1932, which took up the defence of the industry and emphasized the necessity of granting it adequate protection (since it prevented some 700 million lei from being annually remitted abroad), that the State 651 obtained a revenue of 13.70 lei per kg., or 42 per cent of the official price at which sugar was sold; that agriculturalists obtained 20 per cent, merchants 5 per cent, manufacturing and packing accounted for the remaining 33 per cent. But when expenses were deducted the net profit available to the

refineries did not exceed 1.65 lei per kg. The total consumption of sugar, averaging 100,000,000 kgs. per annum, would thus yield a net profit of 165 million lei, which represented a return of 5 per cent on the invested capital. The cultivation of beet-sugar was reported to be considerably more profitable to the peasant than wheat, for while one hectare sown with wheat yielded 1,200 kgs., which would fetch 2,700 lei, one hectare sown with sugar-beet produced 20,000 kgs., which was bought by the refineries for 16,000 lei. 241 249

Though the actual production of cereals surpasses that of the pre-war period, the quantity exported shows a considerable diminution. Transylvania and Bucovina do not produce enough grain for their needs, and cover their requirements by imports. The relative values of the various cereals, as well as the quantities available for export from the 1929 harvest and those consumed locally or used for seed, are given below: 243

Crop	Total interior consumption in quintals.	Quantities available for export in quintals.	Total production in quintals.	Total value in million lei.
Wheat ...	25,600,000	2,400,000	28,000,000	19,600
Rye ...	2,100,000	1,300,000	3,400,000	2,049
Oats ...	8,000,000	5,600,000	13,600,000	5,169
Barley ...	7,600,000	22,800,000	30,400,000	12,768
Maize ...	34,000,000	26,800,000	60,800,000	30,400
Total ...	77,300,000	58,900,000	136,200,000	69,975

Of the available quantity for export only about half was shipped, viz., 28,000,000 quintals, while from the harvest of 1930 the quantity exported was 29,500,000 quintals.

The harvests of the last three years were abundant, and their respective yields in quantity differed but little. Owing, however, to the catastrophic fall in prices, the sums at which they were marketed varied considerably.

	Total production of all cerials.	Total estimated value in lei.
1929	136,200,000 quintals	69,975,000,000
1030	121,100,000 ,,	28,905,000,000
1931	124,800,000 ,,	24,311,000,000

RUMANIA

243 The following were the average prices of the principal cereals at the port of Constantsa per ton during the years 1928–1931, according to the bulletin of the Constantsa Chamber of Commerce:

		1928	1929	1930	1931
Barley	...	5,900	4,580	2,430	1,800
Oats	...	3,400	2,440	1,800	1,520
Maize	...	5,280	4,010	2,600	1,800
Wheat	...	5,280	4,010	2,600	2,550

241 433 If it be remembered that the value of the agricultural production of Rumania constitutes about 60 to 65 per cent of the whole national revenue, it is easy to realize what a terrible strain such a sudden and brusque diminution in the resources of the country is likely to throw on the entire structure of its economic and social life. For the period of 1926–28 the national revenue was computed at 171 milliard lei, of which 110 milliards were derived from agriculture. According to the *Argus* of February 13th, 1932, this last figure for 1931 had declined to 46.5 milliards.

245 Among the 613,614 hectares occupied by orchards and vineyards, some 209,321 hectares are planted with plum trees which yield an annual average crop of about 5 million quintals of fruit, the yields for the years 1928–30 being respectively 28, 9.5, and 14.6 quintals per hectare. The vine is also very extensively cultivated, 239,825 hectares being planted with it. In 1930 the amount of wine obtained from the grapes grown attained about 8,385,374 hectoliters, about half of which was produced in Bessarabia.

241 231 The position of the livestock population in a country of small farmsteads like Rumania is liable to exert a great influence on agriculture, for not only are horses and horned cattle used as draught animals, but their manure is the only kind of fertiliser applied to the fields, so that the gradual reconstitution of the livestock situation after the serious damages inflicted on it during the war is a reassuring sign. The recovery would have been much more rapid if the export taxes on cattle and meat had not discouraged the cattle breeders by unduly restraining exports. The following

figures show the livestock population during the pre-war 241
period and for the years 1926 and 1930: 231

Livestock.	Pre-war figures for all regions forming part of present-day Rumania.	1926.	1930.
Horses and donkeys ...	2,678,000	1,890,000	1,818,560
Horned cattle ...	6,760,000	4,992,000	4,011,141
Sheep and goats ...	15,250,000	14,059,000	12,273,347
Pigs	4,634,000	3,168,000	2,322,971

BANKING

The meagre capital resources of Rumania proved inadequate to the task allotted to them after the war and the general dislocation it had caused. Banks were called upon to finance the reparation of the damage suffered in the territories of the old kingdom, to advance moneys to the rural population which had just been endowed with land, and to furnish capital for the execution of the policy of industrialization to which the country had committed itself. The banks were subjected to a heavy strain, but owing to the financial assistance they received from foreign banking firms this was somewhat relieved. Unfortunately, very often less circumspection than the situation called for was shown in the granting of credits, for in many cases other considerations than those obtaining in Western countries prevailed, and as a result several banking firms were put in jeopardy through immobilization of too great a share of their assets in industrial undertakings. 453

The report of the experts on the liquidation of the Bank Dacia, of Iassi, published in the *Argus* on June 17th, 1931, is sufficiently enlightening on the subject. This bank, the total capital of which was only 20 million lei, had invested 70 millions in industrial enterprises, and the managers were blamed for not having asked for the winding-up of the bank when they no longer disposed of even one-third of the capital, as was stipulated in the statutes.

According to official statistics, at the end of 1929 there were in existence 1,097 banks, with a paid-up capital of 11,180 million lei. The great majority, however, were very small concerns which hardly deserve the preten-

453 tious appellation of "bank," which they bestowed on themselves, for they are mere money-lending firms of very dubious standing. There are only about 12 firms that may be called banks, and these hold between them about one-quarter of the aggregate banking capital. The offices of all these firms is at Bucarest, except that of the Banca Comerţului, which is at Craiova. Besides these private banks there were 4,757 popular banks, with a capital of 7,248 million lei, in operation at the end of 1929. These banks operate mainly in rural districts and are of great help to the peasants, to whom they provide funds and also offer a method for the investment of their savings. They are run on co-operative lines and counted a membership of 1,003,082, the great majority being agriculturalists. The depositors at these banks numbered some 478,315, with a total amount on deposit of 1,417 million lei, while the paid-up capital was 1,801 millions.

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453 The recent law decreeing the conversion of agrarian debts will completely paralyze the activities of all banks in Rumania, and will work inestimable harm to the peasantry, as credit will be entirely disorganized. The passing of the law caused consternation, and most banks decided to go into liquidation. According to the reports published in the Press of a meeting held at Cluj on May 8th, 1932, at which were present delegates from all the Rumanian banks of Transylvania, it was considered that this was the only course left open to them. It was stated that these banks had a capital of 1,200 millions and deposits amounting to 3,000 millions, so that the law of conversion extinguished at one stroke all the capital of the banks and immobilized for 30 years half of the deposits they had received. The representative of the banks of Cluj stated that "such a stunning blow has not been experienced since the Rumanian banks of Transylvania were founded some sixty years ago. Many cherish the illusion that it is yet possible for the banks to survive. My opinion is that no banking institution in Transylvania will henceforth be able to function. Within three months we shall see the disastrous effects of the law; there is nothing left but to liquidate." The extent to which the banks will be affected can be realized if it be noted that the estimated

amount owed by agriculturalists is some 80 milliard lei. So 426
that even if only half of them availed themselves of the law, 453
this would mean an immediate wiping out of about 20 milliards of capital and the immobilization of another 20 milliards for a period of 30 years. On this half of their debt agriculturists will be paying 4 per cent interest, while the banks which have borrowed the sums they had advanced to the peasants are paying 7 to 10 per cent interest. When it is considered that the total capital and reserves of private banks in Rumania hardly reaches 15 milliards, one can realize what a staggering blow this law will be to the economic life of the country. It is true that over four milliards worth of bills belonging to agriculturalists have been rediscounted by the National Bank of Rumania, and that the State has undertaken to indemnify this bank for the loss it will sustain on this head, yet the balance of the loss caused by this astounding law is so formidable that one wonders how the private banks are to survive the blow. One may also question the capacity of the State to find adequate means wherewith to indemnify the National Bank for its losses, seeing that its own plight is so hopeless that its own officials have been left unpaid for months.

It may be apposite to record the opinion of the members 426
of the legal profession in Transylvania and the Banat concerning this law, which is likely to ruin all the banks in the country. Members of this profession met at Cluj on June 5th, 1932, and passed a resolution in which it was affirmed: "That this law, which permits the confiscation of property and annuls acquired rights, is unconstitutional. That it is contrary to the established principles of thousands of years and overthrows the legal order on which the present social order is established. That in consequence this meeting moves that this law should be abrogated and replaced by another, which, while solving the problem of agrarian debts, should be in conformity with the constitution and with the established principles of justice. . . ."

Even before the passage of the law of conversion of 453
agrarian debts most of the banks were in a precarious condition, owing to the fact that they had sunk a large fraction of their assets in industrial undertakings which, at the

453 best, were hazardous ventures. Runs on the banks were frequent, even State institutions such as the Agricultural Bank saw its deposits shrink from 42 millions in December, 1930 to 17 millions in March, 1931. During 1931 one of the leading Rumanian banks, the old-established firm of Marmorosch Blank and Co., was obliged to suspend payments, and this failure increased the prevailing scepticism which the public had so far entertained as to the solvability of the banks. The following table, showing the respective prices of leading bank stocks, is indicative of the continued depression under which these institutions are labouring and of the absence of any hopefulness at the present time :

FIGURES ARE GIVEN IN LEI.

Bank.	Average annual quotation, 1929.	Average annual quotation, 1930.	Price in June, 1931.	Price in June, 1932.
National Bank	12,782	6.788	4,900	3,525
Marmorosch Blank & Co. ...	1.207	854	710	—
Banca Romaneasca ...	950	676	500	185
Banca Generala Tarii Romapesti	708	360	90	50
Banca de Scont	308	217	90	30
Banca Comertului (Craiova)	889	633	300	90
Banca Comerciala Italiana si Romana	848	706	675	450
Banca de Credit Roman ...	1,058	665	500	175
Banca Agricola	194	100	70	20
Banca Commerciala Romana	1,482	782	500	250

INDUSTRY

433 To the policy of industrialization, adopted not only by Rumania but also by other neighbouring States, may be ascribed a large share of the crisis that Europe is now traversing. For the creation of parasitic as well as redundant industries, which can only exist under the protection of high tariffs, has had as a result the shrinkage of the markets in which Western European industrial products were sold. This in its turn brought about a diminution of the buying power of these latter nations, who so far had constituted the sole customers for the agricultural produce of the Near East.

Another result of the creation of these industries was the burdening of the populations of Near Eastern Europe with a cumbersome load of indirect taxation disproportionate to their resources, by which these industries had to be supported, and the further handicapping of these rural populations by the obligation imposed on them to purchase all the industrial articles they required at inflated prices, owing to the fact that these local industries were unprofitable and had to recoup themselves by selling their products at excessive prices under the protection of a high customs barrier.

This policy brought about the gradual pauperization of the rural populations, and the dissipation of the exiguous liquid wealth which the agrarian States had sunk in these artificially created industries. Thus the capital so urgently needed for the development of their agriculture was frittered away through the prevalence of the irrational idea that concentration on agriculture necessarily implies an inferior economic status.

Two policies were now open to these agrarian states: either a further intensification of industry, which necessarily would have to be extended to all domains of activity if it was to succeed (a policy that would clearly end in the final adoption of the collectivist or communist system), or the abandonment of industrialization, followed by the concentration of all available resources on agriculture, mining, and on such industries as find their raw materials locally produced. But this latter course can no longer be adopted except with the financial aid and with the moral and economic co-operation of the Western European States, which will have to choose between the narrow-minded pursuit of self-interest, a policy which is tantamount to condemning these industrial communities to slow death by inanition, or that of embarking on a bold programme of economic co-operation which would once more clear the choked-up channels of international intercourse and allow the vivifying stream of trade to circulate. This is the only salutary path, obstructed though it may be by the stumbling-blocks of well-entrenched vested interests, ready to play upon the emotional nature of an intransigent nationalism whenever they deem it to their interest to discredit international co-operation by decrying all foreign intervention as an affront to the national dignity and a menace to national independence.

RUMANIA

000 Though the obstacles may seem insuperable, yet actual suffering must have rendered the agrarian States more amenable to reason, so that one may hope with some confidence that they will not spurn a helping hand. To the layman it would appear to be more rational to go to the assistance of over 50,000,000 of potential customers, inhabiting the five mainly agrarian States of South-Eastern Europe, than to dissipate our energy and resources in the attempt to buttress up Germany.[1]

We may as well face the plain truth that in present-day Europe there is no longer room for two mainly industrial States living solely by exports, and that to make this possible it would be indispensable to scrap all protected industries in Europe and institute universal free trade. As this cannot be accomplished, we would act wisely if we abandoned the present task of salvaging Germany. Patronizing has not been a very propitious policy to us. Our friendship for the Japanese has resulted in our loss of the Chinese market and in the emergence of a most formidable rival to our Lancashire cotton industry, and our present quixotic attitude towards Germany, were it to succeed, would bring in its train even greater difficulties.

433 471 The policy of industrialization was adopted by Rumania after the war, when her frontiers had been sufficiently enlarged to provide an apparently large local market. During the pre-war years Rumania used to import from abroad some 85 per cent of the industrial articles she required, and such industries as she possessed were principally those the raw materials of which were locally provided, namely the milling, brewing, sugar-beet, and lumber industries. In 1913 there were only about 45,000 workmen employed in these occupations, and the total capital invested amounted to about 750 million lei. The acquisition of Transylvania and the Banat (where, owing to the presence of minerals and coal, an industry had developed) increased considerably the number of industrial enterprises in Rumania and led to similar industries being set up in the old kingdom

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[1] This was the pet scheme of our bankers, owing to which we were forced to go off the gold standard. (See an article by J. A. Hobson in the "Contemporary Review" for November, 1931).

through a spirit of ill-conceived emulation. According to 433
official statistics there were in 1929 a total of 3,736 industrial 471
establishments, with an invested capital of 40,284 million lei, and employing 201,184 workpeople. Of these firms 1391 were in the old kingdom and 1789 in the Banat and Transylvania. The continuous fall in the purchasing power of the population, the lack of adequate working capital, which forces these industries to borrow money at high rates of interest owing to the prevailing monetary stringency, the disorganization of credit, the diminution of State purchases, and the non-payment by the State for the goods ordered by it from these industrial firms, have placed most of them in jeopardy, and it is very doubtful whether they will be able to survive the present crisis unless the State intervenes further on their behalf.

The following table sets forth the data concerning the various branches of industry operating during the year 1929:

Industry.	Number of establishments.	Capital (million lei.)	H.P. used.	Annual value of output in million lei.	Workpeople employed.
Metallurgical	448	6,444	84,775	8,443	40,236
Electrotechnical	12	83	2,026	208	839
Timber	787	3,457	73,827	5,362	41,656
Food and Aliments	1,004	11,686	126,336	15,312	25,644
Textile	516	5,515	40,421	8,448	35,963
Leather goods	211	1,406	15,117	2,614	7,925
Glassware	35	505	2,500	602	4,218
Building materials ...	296	2,065	52,981	1,573	13,963
Pottery	32	119	683	104	834
Chemical	248	6,131	69,326	11,011	19,238
Paper and Graphic Arts ...	147	2,128	29,971	2,447	10,668

The metallurgical industries have been developed to such [321]
an extent that practically all the current implements, from pails and wire to railway locomotives and waggons, as well as agricultural machinery, are locally produced in sufficient quantities for the requirements of the local market.

RUMANIA

433 The alimentary industry includes the important sections of sugar-refining, milling, alcohol distillation, and brewing.

[288] The textile industries have shown the greatest expansion, owing to the excessive protection they have enjoyed. The woollen industry is capable now of producing excellent cloths, most of the yarn being supplied by the local spinning mills, which employ wools produced in the country.

The artificial silk and cotton mills obtain their yarn from abroad, practically duty free, and are able to supply about three-fourths of the local requirements. Only the better qualities of cottons are imported, while foreign silks are practically excluded by the prohibitive duty imposed on them.

The knitting industry has also secured a complete control of the market, and no foreign knitted articles are imported.

[313] The lumber industry was some time ago one of the most prosperous in the country. Until 1925 its output was about 3,200,000 cubic metres of timber, out of which some two million cubic metres were exported annually. Since 1930 the demand has fallen off very considerably, and huge stocks have accumulated, and as prices have dropped the sawmills are registering immense losses. Thus one well-known timber firm, the Foresta, had sustained a loss of 250 million lei during 1930, and it may be said that actually all the timber industry is in a very precarious condition, owing to its inability to cope with Russian competition.

[282] The leather industry obtains all its raw material locally, and its production of sole leather and uppers is sufficient for the home requirements. Even gloves, leather cases, etc., are manufactured locally, and only a very limited quantity of fine and superior leather is now being imported.

000 The following table shows a detailed list of imports during 1930:

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The following table shows a detailed list of imports during 1930:

INDUSTRY

439

Imports	Tons.	Percentage of total bulk.	Value in 1,000 lei.	Percentage of total value.
Livestock	296	0.04	16,439	0.07
Animal food products	10,240	1.32	221,872	0.98
Furs	120	0.02	244,046	1.08
Leather and leather goods ...	3,309	0.43	485,519	2.15
Wool, hair and goods ...	5,907	0.76	1,365,991	9.06
Natural silk and goods ...	47	0.01	86,746	0.39
Various animal substances ...	3,977	0.51	156,554	0.70
Cereals and derivatives ...	29,802	3.85	306,702	1.36
Seeds	4,133	0.54	113,976	0.51
Vegetable oils	2,331	0.30	96,980	0.43
Vegetables, flowers, etc. ...	9,713	1.26	221,084	0.98
Fruit and groceries	33,315	4.31	818,244	3.63
Beverages	240	0.03	8,422	0.04
Sugar and confectionery ...	1,248	0.16	16,975	0.07
Vegetable textiles	49,592	6.41	6,702,290	29.73
Timber and derivatives ...	13,538	1.75	146,850	0.65
Paper and derivatives ...	13.561	1.75	524,469	2.34
Rubber celluloid & derivatives	8,183	1.05	740,386	3.28
Mineral waters and salts ...	900	0.13	8,355	0.04
Glassware	2,464	0.32	161,939	0.72
Earths, stones and derivatives	83,542	10.80	473.880	2.10
Fuel (mineral) and derivatives	180,841	23.37	302,589	1.34
Iron and ironware	236,723	30.59	3,442,482	15.28
Apparatus, machines & motors	34,604	4.47	2,836,640	12.58
Vehicles	8,539	1.10	638,734	2.83
Metals and metalloids other than iron	12,473	1.61	868,706	3.86
Toys	215	0.03	40,836	0.18
Musical instruments ...	472	0.06	139,055	0.62
Optical instruments	126	0.01	101,446	0.45
Watches and clocks	153	0.02	77,480	0.34
Jewellery	73	0.01	41,410	0.18
Chemicals and medicines ...	14,673	1.89	606,471	2.69
Perfumery	47	0.01	48,744	0.21
Colours and varnishes ...	7,620	0.89	373,402	1.66
Explosives	728	0.99	105,215	0.47
Totals	7,737,745	100.00	22,540,929	100.00

OIL & MINING INDUSTRIES

In spite of the continuous increase in the output of crude oil (the output for 1931 amounting to 48 million barrels), the industry is facing a most critical situation owing to the Russian competition and low world prices, excessive transport charges, and high taxation. Notwithstanding these adverse factors, however, the output of oil is steadily increasing, Rumania now being the fourth largest producer of petroleum, as may be seen from the following table: 315 382

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RUMANIA

Production in millions of barrels

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	1931	1930	1929
U.S.A.	856	898	1007
Russia	158	135	99
Venezuela	118	137	137
Rumania	48	42	35
Persia	47	45	42

315 382 651 According to a report published by the *Adeverul* of January 21st, 1932, of which a summary is given below, there are no signs of an early improvement:

"The recent abrogation of the law extending certain subsidies to small producers has created much dissatisfaction, for this enactment, while rescinding the advantages already granted, maintained taxes recently imposed. Only a few of the producers who possessed refineries of their own had so far been able to secure the subsidies that the law had allocated to them, and that only indirectly, as they have been simply credited with these sums, which they will eventually be allowed to use against payment of taxes to the State. As the situation of the public finances is unsatisfactory, one can scarcely hope that these subsidies will be paid out shortly to the rest of the producers.

315 382 Another question which preoccupies the industry is the marketing of the heavy oil residues, the output of which in 1930 amounted to 1,959,371 metric tons. Though this residue constitutes an excellent fuel, its manipulation is difficult and necessitates a large expenditure for the construction of special receptacles. Some companies, in order to get rid of their accumulated big stocks, had recourse to a new method, that of destroying them by fire. This is a disastrous solution for all concerned, and many members of the industrial community affirm that the problem could be solved if our railway administration would reduce its transport charges, so as to permit the marketing of this product abroad at the prevailing world prices. As the railway administration, however, refuses to make concessions in the matter, the oil companies see no other solution than to construct a new special pipe-line to Constantsa, though this scheme meets with violent opposition from railway circles. . . ."

OIL AND MINING INDUSTRIES

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The above article shows how erroneous were the views of the late V. Bratianu in decreeing the nationalization of the oil deposits in order to prevent foreign companies from sharing in the development of the oil industry. The native producers, being without adequate capital resources, have been unable to take advantage of the benefits the mining law meant to reserve for them. They have undoubtedly contributed in increasing the crude oil output, but on the other hand, not possessing the means either to provide for its refining or its marketing, they have only contributed towards creating a glut on the market which is disastrous to themselves, but which unfortunately also affects adversely, though to a lesser degree, the foreign companies in Rumania.

Yet it could easily have been foreseen that an increase in the crude oil output would necessitate the expenditure of large sums of money for the construction of refineries, storage tanks, pipe-lines, tank-wagons, etc., all of which would have to be secured from abroad, seeing that the financial resources of Rumania were utterly inadequate to cope with the demands which were made on them from all sides. [489] The scheme for the construction of a second pipe-line from the oil-fields to Constantsa, mooted by the companies, has been definitely rejected owing to the intervention of the railway administration, which naturally wanted to reserve as much as possible of the transport of the oil for itself. It has offered to grant increased transport facilities for oil, but it is very doubtful whether it will be able to fulfil its promises, because the bridge over the Danube at Cernavoda carries only a single track and its carrying capacity is limited. The construction of a second pipe-line to Constantsa therefore seems to be indispensable. The one already existing between Ploeşti and Constantsa has a total length of 320 km. Some 3,000 tons of oil may be pumped through it in 24 hours, and in 1931 the total quantity of motor oil conveyed through this pipe-line amounted to 753,000 tons. Another pipe-line exists between Ploeşti and Giurgiu, on the Danube, 180 km. in length, but the main port by which petroleum products are exported is Constantsa. In 1931, 3,926,247 tons were shipped from that port.

The principal oilfields extend in a semi-circular strip on the

315 382 southern slopes of the bend of the Carpathians, where the mountains gradually merge into the plains of Wallachia and Moldavia. About two-thirds of the production is secured from the regions of Moreni and Ochiuri, the basins of the rivers Prahova and Dombovitsa furnishing almost 90 per cent of the total yield. There are minor fields farther east in the neighbourhood of Buzau, and also in Moldavia in the region of Bacau. The main oil refineries are situated at Ploeşti. The capital invested in the oil industry is estimated at 11 milliard lei, 60 per cent of which is Rumanian. The number of workmen employed in the industry is about 30,000. The output of crude oil for the years 1928–30 was:

Year		*Tons*		*Estimated value in lei*
1928	...	4,282,377	...	7,345,923,066
1929	...	4,836,974	...	7,441,204,190
1930	...	5,792,311	...	6,552,118,582

[417] About half of the yield was from oilfields owned by the State. The ratio for 1930 was 3,083,468 tons from State-owned oilfields, or 53.20 per cent, and 2,708,843 tons, or 46.80 per cent, from privately-owned oilfields. The quantities produced were distributed per region as follows: Prahova, 4,275,721 tons; Damboviţa, 1,390,215 tons; Buzau, 61,225 tons; Bacau, 65,150 tons.

Of the total output for 1930, some 1,602,757 tons were consumed locally. At the end of June, 1932, it was reported that the total monthly output had attained about 543,000 tons, the average monthly production of the principal companies being as follows: Astra Romana, 109,464 tons; Steaua Romana, 83,667 tons; Concordia, 78,974 tons; Creditul Minier, 27,760 tons; Romano-Americana, 33,800 tons; Phoenix, 65,286 tons; Prahova, 20,878 tons; and Columbia, 17,564 tons.

315 484 382 Prices of petroleum products having dropped to the extent of 75 per cent since 1928, the Rumanian oil industry is passing through an era of grave depression which is causing a very serious repercussion on the whole economic life of the country, taking into account the great amount of capital in-

vested in it and the high contribution it is expected to make 315
to the revenue of the State. The average price in lei of 434
petroleum products per ton during the years 1928–31 were 382
as follows, as reported by the Constantsa *Chamber of Commerce Bulletin*: 1928, at 4,080; 1929, at 3,800; 1930, at 2,600; 1931, at 1,031 lei. The following table, which gives quotations of the leading oil shares on the Bucarest stock market, is indicative of the depression which exists:

Average annual quotations

Share	1929	1930	*June* 1931	*June* 1932
Astra Romana ...	2391	1430	500	340
Steaua Romana ...	1234	571	230	135
Speranţa	1210	639	380	100
Petrol Block ...	320	176	75	54
Concordia	1286	767	265	250
Creditul Minier ...	690	364	185	90
Redevenţa	321	182	65	30
I.R.D.P.	397	143	92	35

The other mineral resources of Rumania are considerable, 135
especially in Transylvania, but no proper geological survey 316
has ever been made, nor have any mines other than salt mines ever been properly exploited. The following figures give the quantities of minerals mined during 1930, the total value of the same being estimated at 10,437 million lei: Lignite, 2,071,057 tons; coal, 298,825 tons; copper, 6,655 tons and 169; iron, 92,517 tons; manganese, 33,528 tons; bauxite, 678 tons; pyrites, 24,264 tons; amber, 107 tons; salt, 304,777 tons; lead and antimony, 984 tons; lead glaze, 194 tons; gold, 2,672 kilograms, silver, 4.418 kilograms.

Lignite is found in extensive beds not only in Transylvania and the Banat but also in the old kingdom. It is mainly used for the railways. The better qualities of coal are found in south-western Transylvania and the Banat. Copper is principally mined at Tulcea, near the mouth of the Danube, and at Ciuc in Transylvania.

THE RAILWAYS AND COMMUNICATIONS

496

The Rumanian railways may be said to consist of three different systems interconnected by a few single lines, which are inadequate for the purpose. These three groups consist of:

(1) The railways of the old kingdom, mainly radiating from Bucarest, and aiming at feeding the traffic of the Danubian ports and Constantsa;

(2) The railways of Transylvania, directed towards Budapest.

(3) The lines of Bessarabia, directed towards Odessa.

At the suspension of hostilities the railways were in a complete state of dislocation, the Austro-Germans having destroyed a large number of bridges on their withdrawal and left behind them only fifty locomotives. The railway tracks in Bessarabia, having formed part of the Russian railway system, were of wider gauge than the normal, so that the lines had to be re-laid and the rolling stock replaced. At first sight it would seem that there was an imperative need to connect western Transylvania with Oltenia by prolonging the railway line along the River Jiu, facilitate central Transylvania's access to the sea by linking up Braşov with Buzau, connect northern Transylvania with Bucovina via Vatra Dornei, and join up Bessarabia on the one hand with Moldavia, and on the other with the Danube mouths, so as to provide this province with a new outlet in place of the Russian port of Odessa. In 1912 a vast programme of railway construction had been elaborated by Al. Coltescu, then director-general of the railways. This comprised the construction of new lines which are of essential importance even to-day, namely:

(1) Extending the line ending at Curtea de Argeş to Jiblea, on the River Olt, thereby shortening the distance between Bucarest and western Transylvania by several hours.

(2) Constructing a new direct line from Craiova via Caracal, Rosiori de Vede, and Vida to Bucarest, and prolonging it to Urziceni and thence either to Buzau or Faurei.

(3) Prolonging the line along the river Jiu and linking it up with the Transylvanian system at Petroşani. 496

(4) Constructing a line from Tecuciu to Faurei and Giurgeni, the latter at the mouth of the Ialomitsa river, building a bridge over the Danube at Harşova, and connecting the latter with Constantsa.

(5) Terminating the line Medjidia-Tulcea, via Babadag.

Owing to the war this plan had not been carried out, so that a very extensive amount of construction remained to be undertaken, the more so since, besides the lines enumerated above, several important lines had to be constructed in Transylvania in order to provide more direct communication between Cluj and Brasov.

It was roughly estimated that an outlay of some forty milliard lei would be required for the carrying out of the construction of the new lines considered indispensable for the normal development of traffic, but as this sum could not be raised locally, and as the economic policy pursued by Rumania since 1919 precluded the raising of so large a sum abroad, not more than one hundred kilometres have been constructed since 1923. This is an astounding policy in view of the paramount importance of railway communications, both from the point of view of the development as well as that of the defence of the country. Actually all idea of new construction has been abandoned, and the justification given is that the railways cannot be run economically; but this is entirely due to the prevailing mismanagement, and sufficient evidence will be offered in support of this statement. After spending vast sums for the construction of the line Braşov–Buzau, all work has been suspended, and no new lines are expected to be opened for traffic in the near future except some 45 kms. between Chişinau and Sachaidache.

At the end of 1931 the railway system consisted of 11,133 kms. of track, but all this was single track, with the exception of 203 kms. of double track connecting Bucarest via Ploeşti with Campina, and Ploeşti with Buzau. This total of 11,133 kms. also includes 716 kms. of narrow-gauge railways.

The railway lines in the new provinces were laid out to suit different requirements than those actually prevailing, 496 and the unification of the whole system can only be realized by the construction of connecting lines between what so far has been three distinct systems. The laying of double tracks on trunk lines is also imperatively needed in certain sections, such as that of Constantsa-Feteşti. Several offers by foreign groups were made for the reorganization of the railways, but the Rumanian Government would not agree to the stipulations set forth by foreign capitalists, namely, that they should exercise control over the expenditure and that they should be guaranteed repayment. It is indeed strange that financiers should be expected to advance funds without adequate security, especially to an administration which has been characterized by disorder and waste, and that to an extent surpassing what is customary even in Rumania. The methods employed in running the railway system are generally indicative of the chaotic manner in which the whole machinery of government is being run, and will serve to show that there is little hope for real improvement so long as there is no outside control.

496 661 The whole railway system had been endowed with an autonomous administration in 1925 by the Bratianu Government, but, as was to be expected, the chief purpose of the initiators of this measure was to create as many "cushy jobs" for the veterans of the party as possible, so that instead of a simplification and co-ordination there ensued a complication bordering on chaos. The disorder rendered control difficult, or well nigh impossible, and has facilitated fraud to an unprecedented extent. No year has passed without discoveries being made of sensational embezzlements perpetrated to the detriment of the railway administration, through which the latter was despoiled of important sums. Even as late as March, 1932, the Press was publishing details of a fresh scandal through which the State railways had been defrauded of several millions. The *Cuvantul* of May 15th, 1932, related that the chief cashier of the railways at Brasov had embezzled over a million lei. On September 7th, 1927, the *Argus* published an article by a former Minister of Communications in which the latter stated that "he estimated the loss suffered by the railways through lack of control to be about 25 per cent of their gross revenue," and he referred

to methods of fraud applied on a wholesale scale at Galatz 496 by which the railways had been systematically defrauded. 661 For instance, whole truckloads of timber forwarded from Bucovina and destined for Giurgiu, on their arrival at Galatz were fraudulently diverted to another destination, so that the consignee at Giurgiu had to be indemnified by the railway administration for the loss of his goods. In another article, published two days later, the writer enlarged on the lack of co-ordination among the different departments of this administration and the total absence of reliable data on which to form an estimate of the situation, a state of affairs that was positively chaotic. As an illustration of this he cited the fact "that while the Under-Secretary of State affirmed that the year 1926 showed a deficit of one milliard and a half lei, the General Manager of the Railways averred on the contrary that there was a surplus of 200 millions"!

Another paper, the *Cuvantul*, which had undertaken a vigorous campaign against the disgraceful disorder prevailing on the railways, referred in its issue of July 24th, 1927, to the following statement of the Under-Secretary of State for Communications: "It is enough to say that according to the accounts there ought to be one milliard and a half of cash, but instead I am 500 millions in debt. This situation is due to the fact that the profit and loss accounts of preceding years have not yet been closed." The *Cuvantul* proceeded to compliment the Under-Secretary for his outspokenness and to condemn M. V. Bratianu for having deliberately misled the public by affirming that the working of the railways was quite normal and that it had been carried on at a profit for the State. Both the *Argus* and the *Cuvantul* continued to publish articles emphasizing the necessity of foreign loans being obtained so that the railway system might be properly reorganized, and laying stress on the disastrous consequences for the country arising from the actual disorganization. According to these articles, the lines were in complete decay and were almost useless. "The rails of one-fourth of the track were so worn out that it was a miracle that trains could run on them. The number of rotten sleepers exceeded imagination. There were three times less locomotives than the normal average, and the railway junctions were

496 661 continually blocked up. . . ." On October 27th, 1927, the *Cuvantul* related how extensive frauds were found to have been committed by higher railway officials in Transylvania, and that the affair was being hushed up so that these persons might not be incriminated.

On March 3rd, 1928, the same paper enlarged on the collapse of the railway bridge over the Milcov, near Focşani, the construction of which had been entrusted to a favourite of M. V. Bratianu who, so far, instead of being punished, had been appointed to another post. The *Argus* of February 20th, 1929, in an article entitled "What has been done with the Railways?" cites the following facts: "It was decided to illuminate the railway cars with methane gas, and lamps and instruments were bought for this purpose. All these remain unused in the warehouses because it has since been found out that methane gas could not be used for such a purpose. . . . Lathes of a value of 40 millions were ordered; this is a quantity likely to suffice for a period of ten to fifteen years. . . . There are some 280 trucks loaded with corrugated iron. As the annual requirements of the railway administration are about two to three truckloads, this stock is likely to last a century. . . ."

497 661 With the advent of the National Peasant Party to power a slight improvement set in, but it was too much to expect that a system which had become traditional could be altered in the course of a few years. The *Cuvantul* of March 31st, 1929, commenting on the resignation of the general manager of the railways, declared that this was a good beginning. "So far our railways were not an institution for furthering travel and facilitating transport, but a counting-house for the sale, at exorbitant prices, of all kinds of manufactures of the various industrial firms associated with the Liberal Party. . . ." In previous articles the *Cuvantul* had described how the railway administration, being under the control of partisans of the Liberal Party, the latter had done everything in its power to promote the interests of members of that party to the detriment of those of the State. The carelessness and remissness of the railway administration may be gauged by the fact that it positively discouraged traffic on its own lines, and diverted it to foreign countries

by a policy of high rates. Thus in January, 1927, the *Argus* 497 complained that timber exports from Bucovina, instead of 661. being forwarded for shipment via Galatz, were being diverted to Dantzig because (owing to the new rates) the cost of transport for one truckload of timber to the first port amounted to 9,500 lei, while the freightage to the second port cost only 4,400 lei. In another article the complaints of the Transylvanian industrialists were aired, and these likewise complained that owing to high rates and lack of trucks they were losing their foreign trade. It was affirmed that only one-fifth of the number of trucks necessary for Transylvania had been allotted to that region, and that the shortage was made more acutely felt owing to the manifest favouritism attending the allocation of trucks. Moreover, trucks which had been slightly injured were not repaired promptly but shunted on to sidings, where they were left to rot and fall to pieces.

The neglect with which the traffic requirements of Transylvania were treated led industrialists of that region to the conclusion that this was a deliberate policy so that their rivals in the old kingdom might be protected from the influx of goods from Transylvania. (*Argus*, November 27th, 1926.)

A policy of excessive transport rates has been applied, 497 which has wrought incredible harm to the railways by reducing traffic and fostering the development of motor road transport, which is rapidly increasing. The latter is proving a formidable rival to the railways, and competition has become so keen that the railway administration has thought of making use of motor railcars on some lines in order to provide increased services and attract some of the traffic it has lost back again, but though this scheme was mooted several years ago it was only recently that an order for a few steam railcars was given to a Birmingham firm.

In fact the railway administration has since 1927 shown a loss every year. Thus 1927 showed a deficit of 1,278,395,915 lei, 1928 of 1,625,634,902, 1929 of 981,635,257, 1930 of 1,286,001,744, while for 1931, according to the *Adeverul* of January 28th, 1932, it was reported that the deficit would be the largest so far recorded, for while expenditure had re-

497 mained stationary, the revenue was inferior by some 1,600 million lei. Since then it has been announced that the deficit had attained 2,000 millions, and that the year 1932 would [652] also close with an equally large deficit. One of the causes of these huge deficits is that the State never pays its debts to the railway administration, in spite of the formal undertakings it assumed when the 1929 loan was floated. On the other hand the State insists on the railway administration paying into the State Treasury the savings it has effected by the reduction of the salaries of its officials. At the end of March, 1929, M. Vidrighin, a former director of the railways, published in the *Argus* a series of articles which explain some of the reasons why the exploitation of the railways is carried on at a loss. He thus pointed out that there are about four and a half millions of persons who make regular use of the railways, but of these some 800,000 are deputies, officials, pensioners, and military, who benefit by great reductions in the current fares, as do their families. So that some 1,200,000 persons, or about one-third of the regular users of the railways, are carried at a loss. Further, the law encouraging national industries provides that raw materials needed for them are to be carried to the factories at a rebate of 30 per cent, while goods despatched from these factories are to enjoy a 45 per cent reduction from the usual tariff. Thus a large part of the goods transported is handled at a loss. Losses are also incurred on official transport, which is mainly gratuitous.

To make good these losses the administration had hit on the simple contrivance of increasing the rates on goods as well as passenger fares, which expedient has resulted in a steady decrease in revenue. Thus in 1929 the total revenue amounted to 12,375,669,870 lei, in 1930 it had decreased to 11,291,600,463, and for 1931 it is reported that the revenue would again decrease by another 1,600 million lei. Passenger rates were so abnormally high that peasants could scarcely afford to travel by rail. For example, for a distance of 40 kms. a peasant would have to disburse 60 lei, a sum which it would have taken him two days to earn. To put a stop to the decrease in the traffic a drastic reduction of 40 to 60 per cent in the transport rates was recommended again in the *Argus* of 14th May, 1932, and statistics were quoted 497 to show that since 1927 freight rates had increased by 112.5 per cent, and these charges, which were estimated in 1929 to represent 5.2 per cent of the value of the goods handled, represented in 1931 as high a percentage as 10.2. Owing to the high transport charges there was a serious falling off in traffic; thus while 18,191,860 tons had been carried in 1930, there were only 16,403,536 tons handled in 1931. The *Argus* of 24th and 25th January, 1932 affirmed that railway charges on grain exported averaged 20 per cent of its value, while the cost of carrying timber often reached 40 per cent of its value.

A further reason why the railway administration cannot 497 even cover its expenses is the high price which it has had to 661 pay for its coal. So far it seems to have been under the tutelage and grip of the "Liberal" Party, the partisans of which forced it to buy the bulk of its coal at exorbitant prices from mines which belonged to them. Thus the *Cuvantul* of December 29th, 1928, affirmed that these "Liberal" companies received annually some two milliard lei for supplying coals at the extravagant price of 1,643 lei per ton. The *Lupta*, in an article published on May 14th or 15th, 1932, asserted that while in Rumania expenditure on fuel amounts to 14½ per cent of the total expenses of the railways, Germany expended only 6 per cent on this head, Poland 8 per cent, and Italy, a country totally deprived of coal, spends only 9½ per cent. The paper also complained that expenditure for the upkeep of rolling stock was inordinately high, amounting to 30.6 per cent. in Rumania, as against 12.7 per cent in Germany, 14.7 per cent in Austria, and 17.7 per cent in Poland.

The *Argus* of 24th April, 1932, relates how political influences are being exerted to bring pressure to bear on the railway administration so that it should place orders for a supply of lignite from mines in the valley of the Jiu, at a cost of some 100 millions per annum. This fuel was shown to be useless, and had to be burned mixed up with crude oil in the locomotives. Its purchase constitutes a downright waste, "but when repeated and weighty interventions are resorted

497 661 to we understand why the railway administration has not yet excluded lignite from among the fuels of which it makes use. . . ." A close examination of the items of the expenditure would probably reveal undue liberality under certain heads. Thus the total expenditure for 1930 amounted to 12,577,602,209 lei, of which 2,700 millions were devoted to the upkeep and repair of rolling stock, 746 millions to the upkeep of the lines, 1,830 millions to fuel, 6,743 millions to salaries, wages, etc.

496 Out of the proceeds of the 1929 loan, some 4,751 million lei were earmarked for the reconditioning of the railways. The sum was to be employed for the renewal of the tracks, the purchase of rolling stock, the construction of new lines, and for the improvement and enlargement of workshops. Expenditure on this last item was exceedingly ill-advised, for the railway administration had entered into engagements with certain foreign firms, on the strength of which the latter had built repair-shops, such as the "Astra" Company at Arad, the "Lemaître" workshops at Reşiţa, and the Franco-Romana Co. at Braila. In 1929 there still remained four outstanding contracts expiring in 1935, and guaranteeing a yearly expenditure of 640 millions for constructing locomotives, and two other contracts expiring in 1939 which provided for the repairing of locomotives, of a value of 335 millions. As soon as the railway administration was able to use its new workshops it proceeded to disregard these contracts, and as a result these private firms had to close down and dismiss their workmen. The *Argus* of 11th May, 1932 denounces the railway administration for its indefensible attitude in the following terms:

"These industries have suffered immense losses. Their staff had to be dismissed, and they have been rendered incapable of meeting their engagements. All of them will put in claims for damages, and we can hardly doubt that Justice, taking into consideration the contracts made with the railways, will be found to pronounce in their favour. Who is to pay the damages? Naturally the State, which is also going to lose the taxes which it would have raised on the contracts had they been carried out. But the greatest loss consists in

the loss of confidence which this stupid policy of disregarding 496
legal engagements entails for the State and its administrations."

The *Dreptatea* of May 19th, 1932, gives an example of the 496
prevailing favouritism in the granting of contracts by the 661
railway administration. Thus tenders were invited for the renovation of the signalling apparatus on the line Feteşti–Cernavoda in August, 1931, but as the administration desired to favour a certain firm no contract was passed, but finally the order was placed with this particular firm at a price of eleven million lei when other firms had undertaken to do the work for only six and a half millions. Naturally the *Dreptatea* takes the Director-General, M. Ionescu, to task for his attitude, and declares that no one should wonder if the railway administration runs into deficits every year. An additional cause for the losses incurred is the overstaffing of the administration, and especially the numerous sinecures that have been created for the benefit of persons enjoying official protection. A few years ago it was impossible to find out how the administration was being run, for no proper balance sheets had been drawn up for years. Fortunately, a British expert has been invited to supervise the accounts, so that data are now available up to date. But this is obviously an inadequate measure, and the railways will become a paying concern capable of responding to the necessities of the country only when and if they are placed under foreign control, or under the management of some capable and honest Rumanian effectively shielded by foreign influence from all interference by political circles. . . . The slovenly methods so far employed in the railway administration have hampered not only the internal development of the country but have also prevented it from increasing its revenues from traffic transit across Rumania; for the country controls two big trade routes, namely that from Poland and the Baltic States towards the Black Sea and the Near East, which used to be one of the great trade routes of old, and that from Central Europe through Transylvania to Constantsa.

There are two alternatives to the latter, namely the 496
Danube and that through Yugoslavia, so that if the Ru- 505
manian railways were properly managed they could easily

496 secure a decent share of the traffic, but apparently this is 505 being diverted to the Danube route. In fact the "Commission Internationale du Danube" reported that the river-borne traffic in 1931 had reached the highest figure since the end of the war. This was due not only to the abundant harvests of 1931, but also to increased petroleum transport from both Rumania and Russia to Central Europe. Certain singular anomalies were recorded in this river-borne traffic, namely, that while grain was conveyed from Russia up to Vienna and Ratisbonne, Hungarian grain was being carried downstream for shipment via Sulina to Antwerp and Hamburg.

In order to attract Polish traffic, the Rumanian Government some years ago proposed to create free zones at Galatz, Braila, and Constantsa. A bridge, also, was to be constructed across the Danube between Giurgiu and Rustchuk, the Polish Government even offering to defray half the expenses, but for the present all these schemes seem to have been shelved.

COMMUNICATIONS

491 In a report made by the Minister of Public Works and published by the *Adeverul* in its issue of January 14th, 1932, the following details were given respecting the length and state of the roads.

The state of the roads is lamentable; most of these arteries are impassable, and a superficial reparation would prove useless. The following table will give an approximate idea of their condition:

	Length in Kilometers
Roads paved in stone	
Good condition	16,118
Medium condition	27,961
Bad condition	14,949
Roads laid in gravel	9,318
Natural unlaid roads	33,636
Total	101,982

Out of this total, 58,028 are nominally laid in stone, but of 491
these only 16,118 kms. can be reckoned as good. The rest may be divided into two categories: 27,961 kms. requiring reparation, and 14,909 kms. requiring complete reconstruction. A good network of roads answering the requirements of the country would necessitate the construction of 2,000 kms. of permanent surface roads (paved with granite), 9,000 kms. of semi-permanent or macadamized, while the remaining 59,000 kms. of the existing network should be completely overhauled every six or seven years.

The requisite sum for the construction of this mileage on the basis of present prices would be 40 milliard lei, and the annual outlay for its maintenance may be reckoned at 1,380 million lei.

It was reported that owing to lack of resources the Minister contemplated the adoption of a system of conscript labour, similar to that introduced into Bulgaria, in order to carry on the work of repairing the roads and of constructing 300 to 400 kms. annually, especially in Bessarabia, which was utterly devoid of semi-metalled trunk roads.

The lack of roads in Bessarabia has been one of the stand- 494
ing grievances of the population against the Bucarest Government, for along with the absence of railways, it is next door to impossible to convey agricultural produce to market.
One might have thought that steps would have been taken 503
at least to deepen the channel of the Pruth, from its mouth to Ungheni (near Iassi), which would have served as an excellent water avenue for heavy traffic, but such a plan has not proved attractive; on the other hand, a scheme for the construction of a canal to connect Bucarest with the Danube was much to the front during recent years, though no foreign group so far has found the conditions offered by the Government acceptable.

The natural unlaid roads, of which the total length is 491
33,636 kms., usually become impassable in the rainy season even for ox-carts, and as many districts possess only such natural tracks, they are practically cut off for considerable periods from the rest of the country.

RUMANIA

491 A contract was recently signed with a Swedish firm for the
661 laying of 570 kms. of permanent and 180 kms. of semi-permanent roads by the end of 1936, but this is far from satisfying even the most urgent requirements of the country. As matters stand now there is some probability that the contract will be cancelled, for it was found out that during the winter of 1931 the roads which so far had been constructed had undergone serious deterioration through the frost. In the discussion which ensued in the Chamber the Minister of Communications accused his predecessor in office of having been bribed, and in support of this charge he adduced the fact that, while the Government delegate who was despatched to Paris to sign the contract with the company had been instructed to accept as maximum prices 618 lei per square metre for the permanent roads, and 330 lei per square metre for the semi-permanent, he exceeded his instructions and signed the contract on the basis of 740 and 426 lei respectively, thereby causing the State to lose a sum of five hundred million lei.

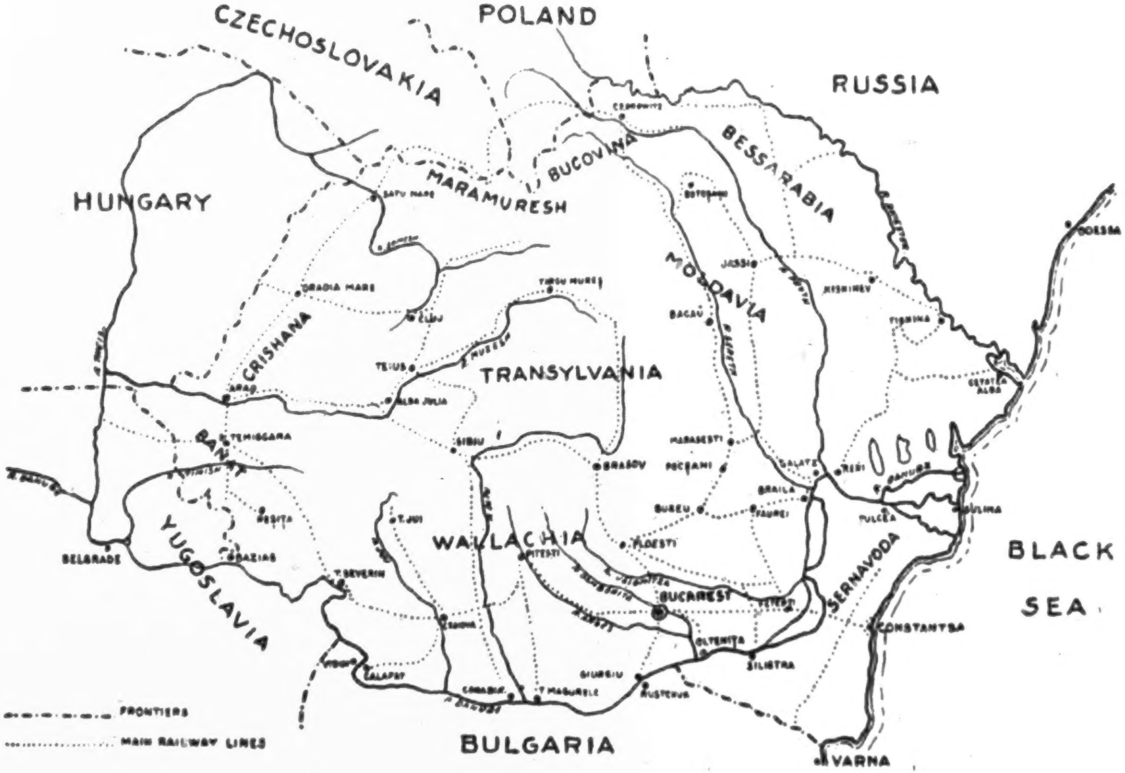
The accusation of bribery was denied by those involved, but it was decided that the contract would have to be revised and the matter submitted to the Law-Courts. This Swedish company is related to the Kreuger & Toll groups, and it is more than likely that the contract will now lapse.

491 The following data concerning the highways and their distribution among the different provinces, also of their condition at the beginning of 1930, is found in the statistical bulletin for that year:

Province.	Roads laid in stone. Good.	Medium.	Bad.	Roads in gravel.	Natural unlaid roads.
Old Kingdom	13,043.722	13,607.486	5,897.907	5,043.919	12,848.255
Transylvania	4,511.625	10,558.301	6,180.164	3,504.744	19,565.426
Bucovina	444.095	923.923	809.304	444.373	665.603
Bessarabia	165.851	384.281	166.640	370.378	7,089.472
Total for all Rumania in kilometres	18,165.293	25,473.991	13,054.015	9,363.414	40,188.756

496

p 203


CZECHOSLOVAKIA
POLAND
RUSSIA
HUNGARY
BESSARABIA
BUCOVINA
MARAMURESH
MOLDAVIA
CRISHANA
TRANSYLVANIA
BANAT
WALLACHIA
YUGOSLAVIA
SERNAVODA
BLACK SEA
BULGARIA
SATU MARE
ORADIA MARE
CLUJ
TEIUS
ALBA JULIA
TIRGU MURES
ARAD
TEMISOARA
SIBIU
BRASOV
CERNAUTI
BOTOSANI
JASSIO
KISHINEV
TIGHINA
CETATEA ALBA
ODESSA
BACAU
MARASESTI
FOCSANI
BUZEU
PLOESTI
BRAILA
GALATZ
RENI
TULCEA
SULINA
FAUREI
FETESTI
BUCAREST
PITESTI
OLTENITA
SILISTRA
CONSTANTSA
GIURGIU
RUSTCHUK
T. MAGURELE
CORABIA
CALAFAT
CRAIOVA
T. SEVERIN
T. JIU
RESITA
BELGRADE
VARNA
FRONTIERS
MAIN RAILWAY LINES

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INDEX

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"ADEVERUL," articles in, 43, 49, 61, 71, 77, 78, 119, 120, 166, 168, 170, 195
Adrianople, treaty of, 18
Agrarian debt legislation, 45, 170–1, 178–9
—— reform, 159, 164, 170
Akominat, Nikita, 11
Alba-Julia, 33
America, U.S., 27, 28, 150
Anti-Semite, 63, 81
Arad, 31, 32, 69
Argentoianu, 39, 40, 42, 47, 48, 132
"Argus," articles in, 43, 44, 84, 90, 112, 114, 117, 120, 129, 135, 136, 141, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 174, 177, 193, 195, 196, 197–8
Army supplies scandal, 99
—— condition of, 100
Assens, Bulgarian Tsars, 10, 11
Astor, Right Hon. Viscount, 153
Aurelian, Emperor, 7
"Aurora," articles in, 76, 88
Austria, 18, 20, 109
Avars, 8, 10
Averescu, General, 24, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39, 48, 59, 94, 168
—— Party, 62
—— Scandals, 97, 98

BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, 144
Balkan, 1, 13, 14, 21
Balti, 43, 76
Banat, 12, 27, 32, 60, 108
Banat, Frauds in, 102
Banescu, Senator, 78
Banks, 177, 180
Baragan, 6, 106
Barton, 15
Basarab, Matthew, 15
Basilescu, Professor N., 114
Batsaria, 80, 168
Battenberg, Prince Alexander, 22
Bela, King of Hungary, 12
Berlin, Congress of, 81, 120
Bessarabia, 8, 18, 25, 33, 34, 37, 107, 176, 190, 201
——, Maladministration of, 64, 73–80
Bethlen, Count, 69, 70
Bogdan, Professor, 9, 10, 12
Bolsheviks, 27, 29, 30, 37, 74, 123, 135, 168
Brandsch, 66
Bratanescu, Deputy, 142
Bratianu, John, 23, 26, 28, 32, 36, 53, 124
——, Vintila, 37, 39, 54, 124, 165, 187, 193, 194
——, George, 54
—— Party, 33, 34, 49, 50, 51, 53, 54, 68, 75, 124, 125, 126, 129, 134, 159, 161, 162, 194, 197
Britain, Roman, 5
British bondholders, 52, 146, 157
—— Government and delegates, impolitic attitude of, 146, 152, 157, 158
Bucarest, Danube Canal, 201

INDEX

Bucarest, fall of, 24
—— municipal scandals, 102, 105
—— University, 20, 43
Bucovina, 108, 109
——, frauds in, 6, 18, 23, 25, 32, 93, 102, 195
Budapest, Rumanian occupation of, 29
Budget, 138, 140
Buftea, negotiations, 24
Bulgarian Empire and Rumania, 8, 13
Bulgaria, 21, 23, 24, 31, 201
Bulgarian minorities, 70, 73
Byzantine, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17

Carol II., 36, 38, 39, 40, 62, 68, 69, 93
Carp, 22
Carpathians, 6, 9, 14, 24, 25, 50, 61, 106, 108, 188
Census of 1930, 110
Cereals, yield of, 168, 173, 175
Charles I., 20, 21, 22, 23, 52, 158
Christianity, 9, 10
Cinamus, 11
Clemenceau, 26, 28
Cluj, 10, 69, 87, 191
Cogalniceanu, 20
Colescu, Dr. L., 13
Commercial morality, 111
Communist, 63, 73
Comnenus, Emperor Manuel, 11
Concordat préventif, law of, 112, 113, 117
Constantine, Emperor, 7
Constantinescu, P., 10
Constantinople, 7, 12, 15, 16, 23, 44
Constantsa, 50, 82, 146, 187
—— Chamber of Commerce Bulletin, 50, 176, 189
Conversion of paper money, 122
Corvinus, King Mathias, 14
Crimea, 18, 19
Crishana, 108
Cumanian, 8, 11, 12, 13
"Curentul," articles in the, 44
Curzon, Lord, 158
Cuza, Prince Alexander, 19, 20, 48
Cuza, A. M., anti-Semite leader, 63, 64, 81
"Cuvantul," articles in the, 64, 74, 93, 94, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 129, 131, 143, 165, 166, 167, 192, 193, 194, 197

Dacia, Dacians, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10
Danube, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 23, 106, 174, 200, 201
Danubian Federation, 155, 156
Dardanelles, 23
Decebalus, 3
Diamandi, 38
Dniester, 76, 106, 107
Dobrudja, 21, 23, 24, 31, 64, 70, 71, 107
Domitian, Emperor, 3
"Dreptatea," articles in the, 44, 48, 60, 94, 199
Duca, 54

Electoral abuses under General Averescu, 35
Elizabeth, Queen, 15
Engagements, disregard of, 118, 119
"Epoca," articles in the, 92, 101
Eutropius, 4
Exports, 151, 155, 177, 187

Feher, Dr. Geza, 8, 9
Ferdinand I., King, 23, 26, 30, 32, 35

INDEX

000

Focşani, 168
France, 52, 156, 157
— Benevolent attitude of, 19, 20, 43
— Cultural influence, 16, 17
— Financial experts, 46, 47, 120
Functionaries, 84, 85, 141, 142

George, Lloyd, 26
Georoceanu, Senator, 72
Gepidae, 7
Germany, 22, 24, 30, 65, 152, 153, 154, 182
Getae, 1
Gherea, Dobrogeanu, 142, 164
Gibbon, 7, 8
Goga, Octavian, 62, 93, 97
Gold mines, 125
Goths, 6, 10
Greece, 14, 18, 44
Gresham's Law, 17
Grigoras, Em., 10

Hamangiu, late Minister of Justice, 116, 117
Hamilton, Sir Ian, 73
Hobhouse, L. T., 83, 84
Huns, 10
Hungary, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 29, 52, 65, 106, 166
Hunyadi, John, 13

Illiterary, 130
Imports, 155, 185
Inculeţ, 75, 76
" Indreptarea," newspaper, 47
Industrial Credit Bank, 104
— Establishments, list of, 183
Industrialization, policy, 152, 180, 184
Interest, rates of, 126, 169

Iorga, Professor N., 3, 40, 48, 55, 57, 66, 96, 170
Iorga-Argentoianu Government, 41, 48, 54, 62, 66, 117
Ismet Pasha, 152

Jassy, 20
Jews, 80
Jonescu, Take, 33, 62
Judicial scandals, 120

Kagul, 76
Kichineff (Chişinau), 74, 107 191
Kisseleff, General, 19
Kladovo, 3
Krum, Khan, 19
Kutso-Vlachs, 5, 70, 71

Land, present distribution of, 160
Latin, 2, 3, 4, 8, 11, 12, 17
Lenguceanu, N., 113
" Liquidation Judicaire " law, 45, 117
" Lupta," articles in, 49, 74, 84, 86, 130, 197
Lupu, Prince Basil, 15
— Dr., 62, 63

Macedonia, 70
Mackensen, General von, 24
Madgearu, Virgil, 39, 51, 86, 99
Magyar, 9, 13, 22, 29, 31, 37, 58
— minority, 64–70
Maniu, Julius, 35, 37, 38, 51, 52, 57, 58, 59, 71, 124
Manoilescu, 38, 39, 132, 133
Maramureş, 6, 80, 102
Marasesti, 24
Marasti, 24
Marino, Senator, 113
Martial poet, 5
Mauritius, Emperor, 8

INDEX

McDougall, William, 68
Methane, Gaz, 125, 194
Michael the Brave, 15, 40
—— Crown Prince, 36, 69
Michalache, Ion, 35, 51, 55, 90
Milyukov, 27
Mineral resources, 189
Minorities, ethnic, 63
Mircescu, General, 100
Mironescu, 38, 39
Mishu, 28
Mohamed II., 14
Moldavia, 2, 14, 15, 18, 19, 23, 24, 75, 81, 107
Muir, Prof. Ramsay, 116

Napoleon III., 19, 20
National Bank of Rumania, 102, 103, 127
—— Peasant Party, 54–62, 136, 165, 194
—— resources, law of exploitation of, 124
—— Revenue, 140
Nations, League of, 52, 146, 147, 157
"Neamul Romanesc," newspaper, 113
Negulescu, Prof. P., 92
Neuilly, Treaty of, 31
Novicov, J., 135

Ochrida, 10
Oil industry, 185
—— production, 186–188
Onciul, Professor, 11
Paganus, Bulgarian ruler, 2 3
Paper industry, 129

Paris, Congress of 1856, 19
Pârvan, Professor, 1, 2
"Patria," articles in, 48, 59, 60 117
Patriarch Miron Christea, 90
Pensioners, State, 103, 104, 142
Petrascu, N., 118
Petrie, Prof. Flinders, 113
Phanariot, 15, 16, 17, 18, 83, 91
Pillat, Senator, 41
Pipe lines, 187
Pittard, Prof., 1, 16
Plato, 40
Plevna, 20
Poles, Poland, 14, 15, 199, 200
Pop, Valer, ex-Minister of Justice, 117
Preferential Treaties, 152, 153, 154
Price fluctuations, cereals, 176
—— oil, 189
Prison scandals, 88–90
Protectionism, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131
Pruth, 79, 107, 109, 201
Public debt, 147–150
—— functionaries, 42, 43, 46, 141

Radauti, 42
Railways, 190–199
—— workshops, 118, 198
Reni, 79
Reşiţa, 101
Rist, M., 47
Roads, 200–202
Romans, 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8
Ross, Prof. E. A., 91
Runciman, Prof. S., 9
Russia, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 29, 33, 73
—— attraction by, 77, 133, 135, 152, 168
—— competition of, 151

Sabinus, Bulgarian ruler, 2, 3
Salonica, 23, 24
Salt mines, 125

INDEX

000

Sayous, Prof. E., 9
Sedgwick, Prof. H., 120
Seicaru, Pamfil, 93
Serbia, 13, 14, 15, 27
Sixtus IV., Pope, 14
Slavs, 2, 4, 6, 8, 12
"Socialismul," article in, 88
Socialist, 63, 109
Solca, 42
Soroca, 76
Spa, Conference, 28
Stabilization of currency, 123
Stambuliiski, 55
Stambulov, 22
Stephanov, Senator C. M., 72
Stephen the Great, Prince, 14, 15, 40
Stere, Constantine, 73
Stirbey, Prince B., 36, 101

TARDIEU, 46, 155
Temişoara, 32, 69
Terter dynasty, 13
Theiss, 9, 25, 106, 108
Thracian, 1, 2, 5, 9
Timok, 27
Tirnovo, 11
Titulescu, 33, 38, 39, 41, 50, 95
Trajan, Emperor, 3
Transylvania, 1, 3, 6, 9, 12, 13, 14, 22, 24, 25, 33, 48, 55, 56, 58, 60, 67, 68, 87, 106, 108
Turks, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 24, 70, 71, 83, 158

VAIDA-VOEVOD, Dr., 30, 32, 35, 38, 50, 51, 57, 58, 59, 70, 124
Vaitoanu, 32
Vespasian, Emperor, 2
Vidrighin, ex-Director of Railways, 196

WALLACE, A. R., 84
Wallachia, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19, 106
Watson, Dr. Seton, 31, 68, 83
Wealas, 4
Wood, Mr. Charles, 85
Wilson, Pres., 25, 32, 44, 106
Winkler's racial statistics, 110

YUGOSLAVIA, 23, 32, 44, 106

ZUKERMAN, Mr. William, 82

113, 162, 563, 641 European Jews E14

[For information on Jews in Rumania see 10: Logio, ED1 Rumania, category 116, pp. 80-82.]